



Lenka Novotná

**A crise dos refugiados na imprensa periódica
portuguesa e checa: línguas e negócios**

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periodical press: language and business**



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Tese apresentada à Universidade de Aveiro para cumprimento dos requisitos necessários à obtenção do grau de Mestre em Línguas e Relações Empresariais, realizada sob a orientação científica do Doutor Kenneth David Callahan, Professor associado do Departamento de Línguas e Culturas da Universidade de Aveiro

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palavras-chave

Refugiados, migrantes, crise dos refugiados, língua, economia, jornais, União Europeia, República Checa, Portugal

resumo

Nos últimos meses, a Europa tem assistido apreensivamente ao fenómeno da chegada de centenas de milhares de refugiados e migrantes pelo sul do continente, originários maioritariamente do Médio Oriente e de outros locais devastados pela guerra. A pressão causada por estes refugiados e migrantes levou a um rol de análises sobre as tensões que estes representam nos sistemas sociais e no bem-estar cultural. Esta tese pretende investigar a atenção prestada em alguns dos jornais mais representativos de Portugal e da República Checa em relação ao tema da linguagem e às consequências para a área económica, do país e do continente, de tamanho influxo de refugiados e migrantes de uma só vez. Como deveremos lidar com o grande número de pessoas que falam uma língua diferente? São os migrantes apenas uma ameaça para o sistema económico ou, podem representar uma oportunidade e um recurso, mesmo que a longo prazo? Esta tese tentará explorar esses e outros tópicos relacionados com estes assuntos.

keywords

Refugees, migrants, migrant crisis, language, business, newspaper, European Union, Czech Republic, Portugal

abstract

In recent months Europe has witnessed intense scrutiny of the phenomenon of the hundreds of thousands of refugees and migrants who have arrived in southern Europe largely from the Middle East and other war-torn areas. The pressure of these refugees and migrants has given rise to all sorts of analysis of the strains they represent for social systems and cultural well-being. This thesis aims to investigate the attention paid in representative newspapers from Portugal and the Czech Republic to the issue of language, and to the consequences for the business life of the country or the continent, of such a large influx of refugees and migrants all at once. What are the attitudes towards dealing with large numbers of people speaking different languages? Do the incomers represent only a threat to the business environment, or do they represent an opportunity and a resource, even if in the long term? The thesis will attempt to explore these and other related issues.

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Abbreviations

CPR – O Conselho Português para os Refugiados – Portuguese Refugee Council

ČLK – Česká Lékařská Komora – Czech Medical Chamber

ČTK – Česká Tisková Kancelář – Czech Press Agency

EEA – European Economic Area

EMN – European Migration Network

EU – European Union

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

IIE – Institute of International Education

IMF – International Monetary Fund

IOM – International Organization for Migration

IT – Information Technology

LM – Language-Minority

MEP – Member of the European Parliament

NF G 21 – Endowment fund Generation 21

PAR – Plataforma de Apoio aos Refugiados – Support Platform for Refugees

PPP – Purchasing power parity

PS – Partido Socialista – Socialist Party

SIP – Státní integrační program – National Integration Program

UK – United Kingdom

UNHCR – United Nations' Refugee Agency

USA – United States of America

V4 – Visegrad group

YOY – year over year

Reporting the migrant crisis: Where do languages & business fit in?

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NOTE:

All translations from Czech or Portuguese are my own.

Reporting the migrant crisis: Where do languages & business fit in?

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1 Introduction

1.1 Presenting the Situation

Although, mainly due to political instability, terrorist threats or war in the Middle East, Africa, and South Asia, the number of illegal border-crossing detections in the EU has been rising since 2011, the most recent surge in detections along the EU's maritime borders has evidenced a sharp increase since 2015. Since the beginning of 2015, Europe has been facing an enormous influx of refugees and migrants (Park, 2015). According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the number of incoming migrants in 2015 approached one million, including refugees, mostly trying to escape from war-affected areas, mainly from the Middle East, particularly Syria and Iraq, or from other countries such as Afghanistan, Albania, and Pakistan, among others (Millman, 2015). Largely unprepared, Europe was faced with the almost insuperable task of dealing with the issue. Hundreds of thousands of migrants and refugees entered EU territory via the Mediterranean, which led to their landing primarily in countries which had been suffering with the current economic crisis, such as Greece and Italy. This meant immediate further economic and organizational difficulties in these countries. Moreover, such a strong flow of refugees has affected not just the economically destabilized countries but it has also impacted upon the existing nature of European life in general and has provoked serious disruptions among the EU countries themselves.

1.1.1 Reasons of the crisis as presented in the media

One of the questions is where the current confusion, afflicting all of the European Union and certainly testing the limits of the EU project, has its origins. “Russian President Vladimir Putin has said that Europe’s migrant crisis is payback for the EU ‘blindly following U.S. orders’ in the Middle East” (Sharkov, 2015). In other words, due to Western intervention in Middle East conflicts, where many European countries have been involved, whether directly or indirectly, these already complex conflicts have been inflamed. Indeed, the war in Syria has partially become a war of control between world

powers and world power blocs. The individual who has been most called into play by this issue is probably the current German Chancellor, Angela Merkel. Her decision to receive refugees fleeing from Syria's civil war has not been popular either within her own party or in the majority of the European Union. Merkel, defending her policy on migrants, has described the migrant crisis as a "historic test for Europe" (BBC, 2015).

The *Wall Street Journal* has portrayed the situation as a "disaster that is a result of the Middle East's failure to grapple with modernity and Europe's failure to defend its ideals" (Mead, 2015). A similar opinion was affirmed in the *Daily Telegraph*, where it was claimed that "the origin of the migrant crisis lies in the European Treaty" (Booker, 2015). Article 18 of the Charter of fundamental rights of the European Union states that

the right to asylum shall be guaranteed with due respect for the rules of the Geneva Convention of 28 July 1951 and the Protocol of 31 January 1967 relating to the status of refugees and in accordance with the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (European Union, 2012).

Booker then claims that in conformity with this paragraph, the EU is issuing an "open invitation to anyone claiming to be a refugee from anywhere in the world and that the member states according to this paragraph are obliged to let them in" (Booker, 2015). The inevitable consequences of this influx are that some nations erect ever more aggressive fences to keep the migrants and refugees out (Booker, 2015).

1.1.2 EU Directives

According to the Convention on Refugees

Article 1A, paragraph 1, of the 1951 Convention applies the term "refugee", first, to any person considered a refugee under earlier international arrangements. Article 1A, paragraph 2, read now together with the 1967 Protocol and without the time limit, then offers a general definition of a refugee as including any person who is outside their country of origin and unable or unwilling to return there or to avail themselves of its protection, on account of a well-founded fear of persecution for

reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular group, or political opinion. Stateless persons may also be refugees in this sense, where country of origin (citizenship) is understood as “country of former habitual residence”. Those who possess more than one nationality will only be considered as refugees within the Convention if such other nationality or nationalities are ineffective (that is, do not provide protection). The refugee must be “outside” his or her country of origin, and the fact of having fled, of having crossed an international frontier, is an intrinsic part of the quality of refugee, understood in its ordinary sense. However, it is not necessary to have fled by reason of fear of persecution, or even actually to have been persecuted. The fear of persecution is connected with the future, and can also emerge during an individual’s absence from their home country, for example, as a result of intervening political change (Goodwin-Gill, 2008).

This formulation of the Treaty has been a contributing factor to the existence of a huge and uncontrolled influx of people seeking asylum in Europe, and it has not been helped by the disunity of the member states. As referred to previously, the number of migrants fleeing to Europe is around one million. One million people who are asking for protection, and the EU has further complications when determining who actually is a refugee and who is not. All the routes into Europe receive mixed flows composed of three primary groups:

individuals whose protection claims are likely to be recognized by European authorities, such as Syrians and Eritreans; individuals fleeing instability or violence in their home countries who may not qualify for refugee status but are still at risk for other reasons including Somalis and some Syrians; and migrants who feel compelled to leave their countries for largely economic reasons—Western Balkans and sub-Saharan nationals, for example (Banulescu-Bogdan & Fratzke, 2015).

In addition, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) highlights the fact that despite the distinct legal categories into which new arrivals are put, individuals have complex motivations for leaving their origin countries that resist simple categorization. Even though international law draws a line distinguishing between

refugees and other migrants (that would actually mean different treatment for the former), this distinction in practice is much more nuanced (Nunes, 2015). Even the motivations of people who are seen as “economic migrants” may not be completely clear. For example, Western Balkan nationals face extremely high unemployment and poverty rates and have an apparent economic motivation to enter to the EU as do, for example, Roma or other minorities who have been facing harsh and systemic discrimination in their home countries and who could, in various cases, be considered to have grounds for refugee status and who represent a substantial share of those making the journey (Nunes, 2015). *The Economist* claims that the “legal distinction between refugees and economic migrants often fails to capture the complex mixture of motives that force migrants to make their heroic journeys. War may work as the catalyst for a journey but refugees will then seek to make it as economically beneficial as possible” (*The Economist*, 2015). The diversity of these flows—both in terms of the nationalities and motivations to move to the EU- creates a difficult task for European authorities to determine who is a “real” refugee and thus has the legal right to apply to stay and receive protection in the EU, and to distinguish these people from those to whom this right is not applicable. The task of categorizing people can be even more complicated due to the lack of control over the people who have crossed the borders of the Union. Once people come into the EU area, the control over their movement and their effective organization is becoming more and more complicated.

Eurostat defines protection status according to three different categories of protection:

Person granted refugee status means a person covered by a decision granting refugee status, taken by administrative or judicial bodies during the reference period. (...) Refugee means a third country national who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership of a particular social group, is outside the country of nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of that country, or a stateless person, who, being outside of the country of former habitual residence for the same reasons as mentioned above, is unable or, owing to such fear, unwilling to return to it.

Person granted subsidiary protection status means a person covered by a decision granting subsidiary protection status, taken by administrative or judicial bodies during the reference period. (...) Person eligible for subsidiary protection means a third country national or a stateless person who does not qualify as a refugee but in respect of whom substantial grounds have been shown for believing that the person concerned, if returned to his or her country of citizenship, or in the case of a stateless person, to his or her country of former habitual residence, would face a real risk of suffering serious harm and is unable, or, owing to such risk, unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of that country.

Person granted authorization to stay for humanitarian reasons means a person covered by a decision granting authorization to stay for humanitarian reasons under national law concerning international protection, taken by administrative or judicial bodies during the reference period. It includes persons who are not eligible for international protection as currently defined in the first stage legal instruments, but are nonetheless protected against removal under the obligations that are imposed on all Member States by international refugee or human rights instruments or on the basis of principles flowing from such instruments. Examples of such categories include persons who are not removable on ill health grounds and unaccompanied minors (Eurostat, 2015).

Based on these definitions it is possible to observe that people who are recognized as refugees are only people belonging to the first group, which is strictly defined. Since not all asylum seekers correspond precisely to this definition, there is a large number of asylum seekers who belong to the second group of people who are granted subsidiary protection.

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2 Theoretical Framework

2.1 Asylum seekers in the EU

The European Migration Network (EMN) report states that, according to the data available on Eurostat, there were 3.3 million asylum applications to the European Economic Area (EEA) (28 EU member states + EEA (Norway, Liechtenstein, Iceland) + Switzerland) between 2009 and September 2015. However, this masks the fact that the annual number of applications more than doubled. In 2009 there were 287 000 applications and 2014 recorded 662 000. From 2013, the number of applicants started to increase greatly. Finally, in 2015 numbers dramatically increased again – at the end of September 2015 there were 901 000 asylum applications lodged in the EEA, which is almost twice the number recorded over the same period in 2014. The top nationalities claiming asylum in the first nine months of 2015 were Syrian (222 000; 25%), Afghani (103 000; 11%), Iraqi (69 000; 8%), Kosovar (69 000; 8%) and Albanian (54 000; 6%) (European Migration Network, 2015, p.3), as visualized in the following Figure 1 and Figure 2.

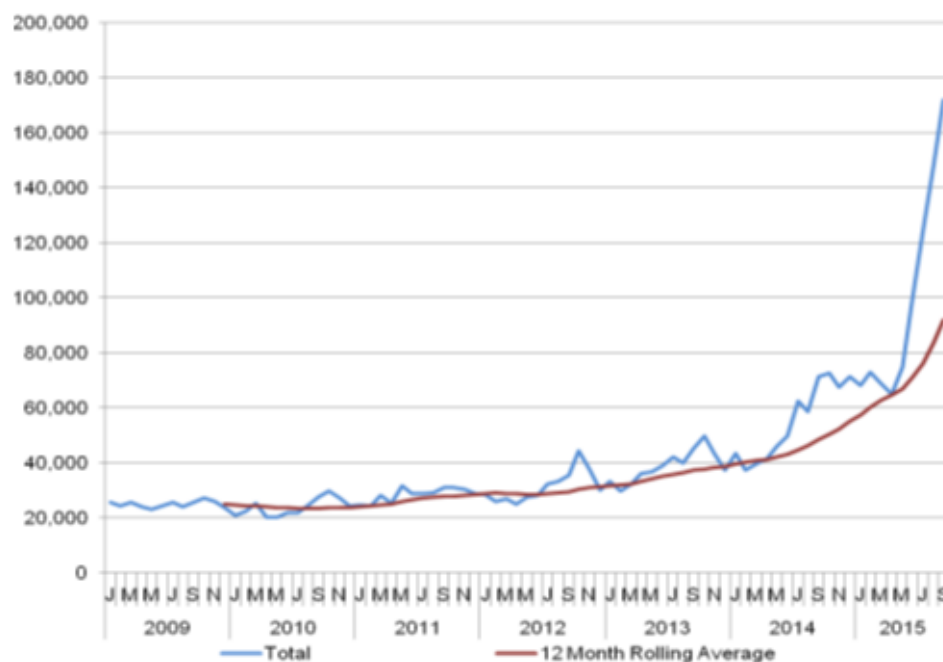


Figure 1: Total monthly asylum applications in the EEA (2009 – September 2015) (European Migration Network, 2015, p.7).

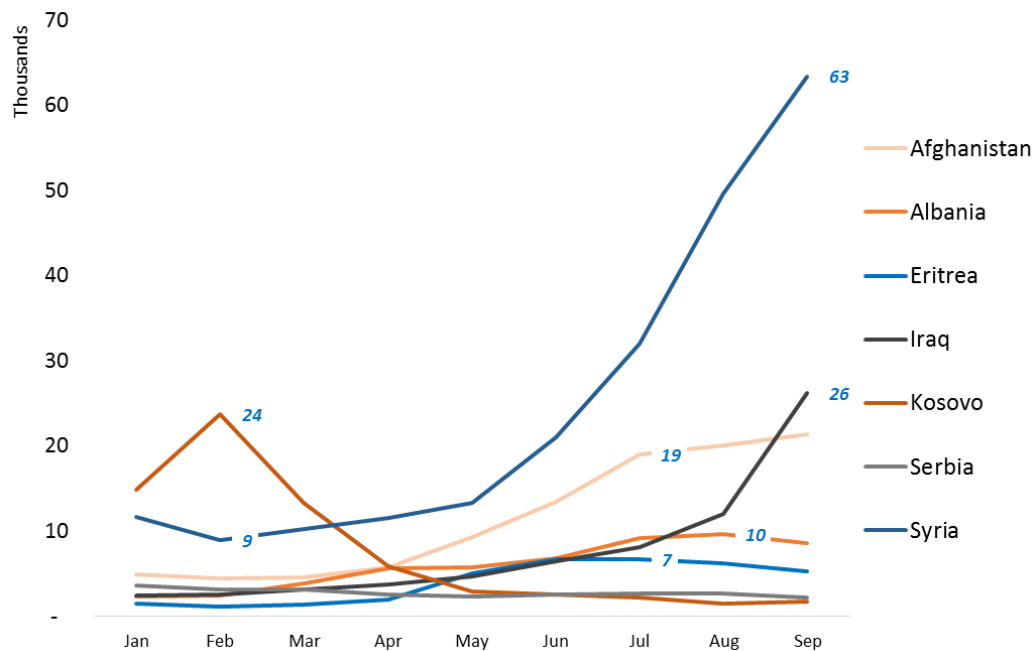


Figure 2: Monthly asylum applications by nationality across the EEA (Jan –September 2015)
(European Migration Network, 2015, p. 10)

Observing the available data, the first three nationalities of asylum applicants are from war affected countries. However, Kosovo and Albania may also be considered as politically unstable and potentially dangerous countries for many of their inhabitants. Nevertheless, the data demonstrates that the average recognition rate for all nationalities applying for international protection across the EU in the first nine months of 2015 was 49% (viz. Table 1). Nevertheless, the EMN emphasizes that an important fact to point out is that the number varies considerably between all member countries (i.e. from 14% in Hungary to 76% in Sweden). The high number of asylum seekers who withdrew their application in Hungary partly explains the low number of positive decisions compared with other EEA Member States (European Migration Network, 2015).

Table 1: Number of applications and first instant decisions for asylum applications by origin country, January to September 2015 (European Migration Network, 2015, p. 17)

Third country	Applications	Decisions	Positive	% positive decision
Syria	221 770	90 725	87 025	96
Stateless	11 095	7 435	6 575	88
Eritrea	36 010	23 910	20 790	87
Iraq	69 465	17 045	14 485	87
Afghanistan	102 755	12 645	8 765	69
Iran	12 135	6 185	4 095	66
Somalia	17 060	6 580	4 000	61
Sudan	8 370	5 470	3 100	57
Gambia	10 185	6 360	2 205	35
Mali	6 470	7 100	2 085	29
Nigeria	23 235	11 420	3 000	25
Pakistan	36 610	12 635	3 080	24
Bahrain	30	30	30	100
Swaziland	20	20	20	100
Central African Republic	675	515	455	88
Kuwait	180	115	85	74
Yemen	1 065	290	205	71
Palestine	2 375	830	565	68
Saudi Arabia	60	40	25	63
Albania	54 325	26 275	765	3
Kosovo	68 990	32 095	750	2
Serbia	24 955	17 375	265	2
Other	197 390	114 815	31 980	28
Total	905 225	399 915	194 415	49

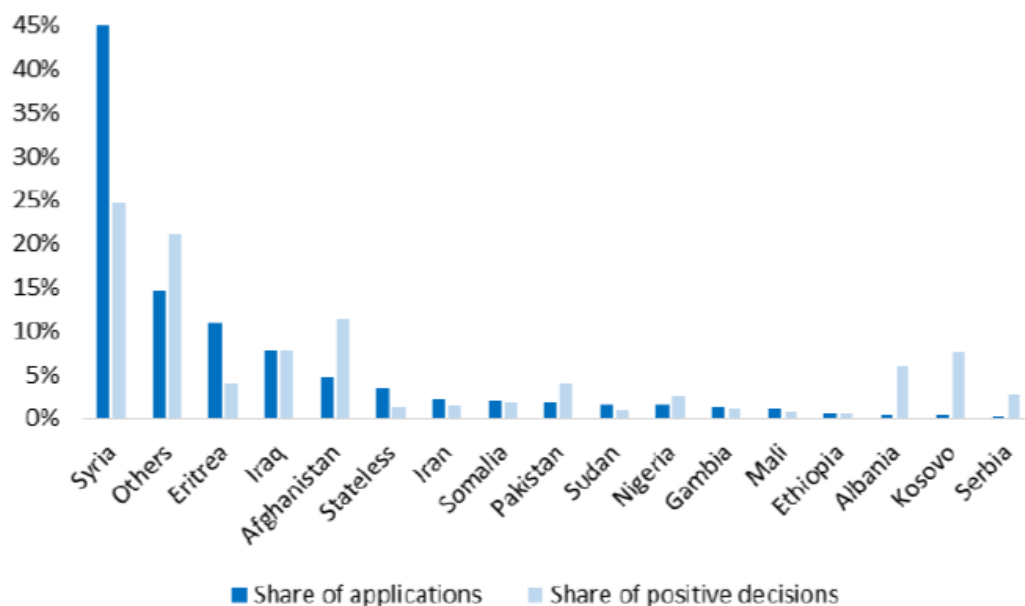


Figure 3: Percentage of total applications and total positive decisions in EEA by nationality, January to September 2015 (European Migration Network, 2015, p. 18)

Concerning the decision rates, the data showed that countries with the highest rates of positive decisions, taking into account also the number of applications across the EEA, are currently Syria, Eritrea, Somalia, Afghanistan and Iraq. Together they accounted for half of all asylum seekers between January and September 2015 and 72% of the total number granted asylum that year (European Migration Network, 2015). However, although the European Treaty is recognized by all the member countries, there are obviously significant differences in its interpretation. Average recognition rates will thus vary considerably, depending on the nationalities contributing to the flow of asylum seekers received by a particular EEA Member State. Overall, according to the EMN (2015) report, Syrians and Eritreans have a high recognition rate across EEA Member States at present, while nationals from Kosovo and Albania have a markedly low recognition rate.

Concerning the most popular destination countries, the largest number of asylum applications in recent years has been received by Germany; more specifically, in the first nine months of 2015 Germany received 289 000 (32%) of all applications in the EEA.

The Member States receiving the next largest numbers of asylum seekers in the first nine months of 2015 were Hungary 176 000 (20%), Sweden 73 000 (8%), Italy 59 000 (7%), Austria 57 000 (7%), and France 51 000 (6%). On the other hand, less than 100 applications were registered in Croatia and Slovakia. Concerning the target countries, in the first nine months of 2015 Germany (21%) and Finland (18%) were the top destinations for Iraqi asylum seekers. Six out of ten of all applications from Syrians were both made to Germany (31%) or Hungary (29%), and for Afghani nationals Hungary became the most popular destination with over 45% of applications (European Migration Network, 2015).

2.2 Asylum seekers in Portugal and the Czech Republic

Based on the data available in the EMN report, it is possible to notice a contrast with the main groups granted protection status in the EU in 2014 when the data taken are from the EU and then from the two countries that this thesis focuses on – the Czech Republic and Portugal (see Table 2).

In 2015, the enormous increase of asylum applications was monitored in each of the EU countries. According to the Eurostat data, in the EU, in the first quarter of 2015, there were more than 185 000 asylum seekers. In the second quarter of 2015, there were more than 210 000 and, in the third quarter of the same year, the number almost doubled to 410 000 asylum seekers.

Table 2: Asylum applicants in the Czech Republic and Portugal in the four quarters of 2015,
(Eurostat, 2015, 2016)

		Czech Republic				Portugal			
		Ukraine	Cuba	Syria	Others	Ukraine	Pakistan	Morocco	Others
1st ¼ of 2015	Country								
	%	48	24	6	22	71	9	6	14
	Nr. Of Applications	170	85	20		125	15	10	
2nd ¼ of 2015	Country	Ukraine	Syria	Vietnam	Others	Ukraine	Mali	China	Others
	%	51	9	5	35	48	12	10	30
	Nr. Of Applications	140	24	15		120	30	25	
3rd ¼ of 2015	Country	Ukraine	Syria	Cuba	Others	Ukraine	China	Pakistan	Others
	%	46	8	6	40	39	14	11	36
	Nr. Of Applications	120	20	15		85	30	25	
4th ¼ of 2015	Country	Ukraine	Syria	China	Others	Ukraine	Mali	Pakistan	Others
	%	40	18	7	35	19	17	8	56
	Nr. Of Applications	135	60	25		35	30	15	

As is apparent in the Table 2, in the first quarter of 2015 in the Czech Republic there were 352 asylum seekers of whom the majority were Ukrainians. In the 2nd quarter of 2015 there were 275 asylum seekers in the Czech Republic and 51% of them were people from Ukraine and the same nationality had the biggest representation in the 3rd quarter of the same year with 46%. The total number of applicants in the third quarter reached 260 and in the fourth quarter 335. The fourth quarter of 2015 had proportionally similar results as the previous three quarters. However, Syrian refugees seeking asylum in the Czech Republic tripled in comparison with the first and third quarters. At the same time there were more people from China applying for residence. The following two nationalities with the highest representation were Syrian and Cuban.

Concerning Portugal, in the four quarters of 2015 Ukrainians were the most common nationality in terms of asylum applications with 71% in the 1st quarter, 48% in the second quarter, 39% in the 3rd and 19% in the 4th quarter of 2015, although it is clear that the tendency of Ukrainian applications is on the decline, as is the fact that the total number of applications is declining, while the number of applicants fleeing from Mali and Pakistan

remains similar. Overall, the number of applicants in the first quarter was 174, in the second quarter 250, in the third quarter 220 and in the fourth quarter 180.

As the data suggest, the largest boom of asylum applications was in the Czech Republic in the 1st and 4th quarters of the year, while the middle of the year recorded lower numbers of asylum applications. This contrasted with the amount of refugees arriving in the EU which was increasing. Compared to that, the lowest number of applications in Portugal was in the first and fourth quarters of 2015, which could be caused by its distant position from the points of entry to the European area. It is thus possible to observe contradictory tendencies; the strongest quarters in terms of number of applications in the Czech Republic were the first and the fourth, while Portugal registered the majority of application in the second and third quarters of 2015.

As visible from the numbers, Portugal and the Czech Republic, two countries with a similar size and number of inhabitants, also have similar numbers of applicants. The number of applicants in the Czech Republic is only slightly higher, which is probably caused by its position in Central Europe and its proximity to other countries, like Austria and Germany, that are frequently sought by migrants. Nevertheless, it is observable that in comparison with the European average the number of applicants in these two countries still represents just a small percentage of the total applications in other member states.

2.3 Relocation

Relocation is considered a distribution of people in obvious need of international protection among member states. The distribution of people is based on various criteria that correspond to the capacity of EU member states to accommodate and integrate refugees. The criteria the relocation depends on are:

- a) the size of the population (40%);
- b) total GDP (40%);
- c) average number of spontaneous asylum applications and the number of resettled refugees per 1 million inhabitants over the period 2010-2014 (10%);

d) unemployment rate (10%) which is an indicator reflecting the capacity to integrate refugees (European Commission, 2014, p. 19).

As is clear, some factors have a more significant weight than others, with the size of the population and the country's GDP being the most influential ones. In Table 4 it is possible to observe the first decision about relocation per country.

Table 3: European relocation scheme to September 2015 (European Commission, 2015b)

	Italy	Greece	TOTAL
Austria	462	1491	1953
Belgium	579	1869	2448
Bulgaria	201	651	852
Croatia	134	434	568
Cyprus	35	112	147
Czech Republic	376	1215	1591
Estonia	47	152	199
Finland	304	982	1286
France	3064	9898	12962
Germany	4027	13009	17036
Hungary	306	988	1294
Latvia	66	215	281
Lithuania	98	318	416
Luxembourg	56	181	237
Malta	17	54	71
Netherlands	922	2978	3900
Poland	1201	3881	5082
Portugal	388	1254	1642
Romania	585	1890	2475
Slovakia	190	612	802
Slovenia	80	257	337
Spain	1896	6127	8113
Sweden	567	1830	2397
TOTAL	15600	50400	66000

As visible from the table, the Czech Republic was allocated, in the first European Commission decision, 1 591, and Portugal 1 642 refugees from Italy and Greece. Later, a

second decision was made with respect to relocating 120 000 more people from these two countries. It is necessary to mention that the Czech Republic voted against this second decision. Nevertheless, after the second relocation decision, the Czech Republic is supposed to relocate 2 691 refugees from Syria, Iraq, Eritrea and Central African Republic (Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic, 2016). The Portuguese government has published an article claiming that, according to the Portuguese Prime Minister António Costa, Portugal has the capacity to accept immediately 1 250 and within a longer horizon more than 9 000 refugees. The specific number agreed by the Portuguese government in 2015 within the relocation plan was 4 486. 5 000 more people are to be accepted based on the bilateral agreements between Portugal and other countries (República Portuguesa, 2016).

2.4 Humanitarian Aid

Apart from the resettlements, the European Union has shown a range of reactions to the crisis and various forms of support have been offered to some of the people from the affected countries. This means that support has been given to some of the people who have been displaced as well as to those who are still living in their regions of origin and yet have not crossed the borders of the Union. Since the Syrian conflict began in 2011, the UNHCR estimates that (as of November 2015) more than 4 million Syrian refugees are living outside of Syria. The majority reside in the neighboring countries: Turkey (2.1 million Syrian refugees), as well as Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon and Egypt, which together have registered, until now, more than two million Syrians. The UNHCR estimates that around 10% of all Syrians seeking refuge have so far applied for asylum in Europe.

As there are very large numbers of refugees temporarily accommodated in countries closer to their place of origin (for example in Lebanon, there were, according to the UNHCR, in the beginning of 2015 around 1.3 million refugees, which is a quarter of Lebanon's population), it is clear that these people are also in need of support and the EU, together with numerous organizations, has been providing a large amount of humanitarian aid to displaced Syrians outside of the EU in the region of origin. Almost 4 billion euros

have gone towards helping feed displaced people and to providing health care and education for children as well as to helping with other critical services. Providing aid in the region of origin may also help deter refugees from attempting perilous journeys to other countries. Amongst EU Member States, the United Kingdom, Germany and Netherlands have been the largest contributors of humanitarian aid to Syria, Eritrea, Afghanistan, Somalia and Iraq since 2009 (European Migration Network, 2015).

2.5 Disunity of the EU

The European Union likes to think it has the reputation of a humanitarian place. Among other reasons it is also this reputation which makes people attracted to coming here. However, in this time of the crisis there are some countries that have been trying to preserve this status and have been struggling against the crisis more than others. Some member states have been evincing a more defensive attitude towards the situation. This behavior may be led by fear but financial resources are clearly also an important factor in this problem.

Considering the numbers and attitudes of EU members, there are considerable differences in funding the crisis. It is possible to make a deduction that it would be more comfortable for the EU (because of the significant financial differences between particular member states) to pay and sponsor those countries that may not be as financially prosperous as others. After all, the price for not sponsoring the less wealthy countries would be keeping the refugees. These less wealthy countries could receive a contribution for each accepted migrant. The contribution would be obviously paid by the richer member states. This would potentially work as sort of mutual help because the countries in crisis would gain financial support while the economically stable countries would not have to be so directly concerned with the issue.

There are countries, such as Germany, which are obviously doing both things: paying and sponsoring outside of the EU, as well as accepting a lot of refugees in its territory. There are also other countries that do not hide the fact that they would prefer to help locally with the crux of the problem, which means outside of the EU. And there are countries

which do not have huge financial reserves but essentially are not against reception of refugees. Together with the money issue, a problem of the Schengen area also arises. Because the EU, according to various opinions, is not able to guard its external borders, many countries have re-imposed their own border controls (Holehouse, 2015), which could have serious consequences not only for the Schengen area but for the entire EU. If the EU is not going to be united and its leaders unable to find a common way, the threat of disintegration of the European Union increases. Some of the relatively recent member states have already proven more skeptical about the question of refugee acceptance as well as about the existence of the European Union itself.

Given all the above-mentioned arguments, it is possible to observe the problem of disunity within the EU. EU members are blaming each other for aspects of the problem, or over the ways they are handling the problem, while many EU countries are trying to evade their responsibility, with the result that the Union is going through such complicated times that its very bases are under threat. Because of the difficulties member countries have in focusing on the real problem of global inequality, the EU is drowning in this incoming flood of people and is unable to agree on solutions and prevention. On one hand there is the European Union that should, supposedly, work as a unit. On the other hand, there are all the members that are working for themselves and for their own interests. This is the real problem that the EU now needs to deal with. Although the crisis is a crisis of the Union, the member states often act as they were not part of it. This is also where the lack of ability to agree on the problem's solution arises. The majority of the people who are living in the European Union still do not feel and consequently behave as Europeans. And as the crisis has hit the Union in a phase where, because of the financial crisis, there is not an absolute integration of the member countries, the Union cannot really behave as one unit. The difference is notable mainly between the western and eastern European countries, as is obvious also from the above numbers of the asylum seekers recognition rate. These numbers also prove a significant difference between member states, mainly concerning economic and financial aspects.

Thus, since the migrant crisis has begun, Europe has been divided into two camps, broadly speaking, of supporters and opponents of migrants, including within the countries

themselves. It is particularly possible nowadays to observe how the migrant crisis has been affecting elections, although as a point of comparison Portuguese elections were not influenced by the crisis as much as, for example, Polish elections, where politicians have been using their opinions about the migrant crisis and its solutions as a tool to capture as many voters as possible. The subsequent part of this thesis deals in more detail with Portuguese and Czech perceptions of and attitudes toward the issue.

3 Languages and Cultures

Edward P. Lazear published an article “Culture and Language” in the *Journal of Political Economy* (1995). This key article can serve as a springboard for the following part of the thesis. According to Lazear it is possible to presume that

common language and common culture facilitate the trade between individuals. Minorities have incentives to become assimilated and to learn the language of the majority in order to have a larger pool of potential trading partners. The value of assimilation is larger to an individual from a small minority than to the one from a large minority group. When a society has a huge majority of individuals from one culture, the individuals from minority groups are supposed to be assimilated more quickly. Assimilation is less likely when an immigrant’s native culture and language is broadly represented in his new country. Also, when governments protect minority interests directly, incentives to be assimilated into the majority culture are reduced (Lazear, 1995, p.1).

It is notoriously difficult to define what culture, language and society are and how they interact among themselves. Linguist David Crystal defines language as “the systematic, conventional use of sounds, signs or written symbols in a human society for communication and self-expression” (Crystal, 1996, p. 454). Based on this definition language is a communication tool. It means that people, in order to communicate and be able to understand each other, have to use the same system. The importance of language in a society is thus undisputable, a point which hardly needs underlining.

Raymond Williams in his *Keywords* stated that the word “culture” belongs among the two of three most complicated words in English (Williams, 2000, p. 87). He defined and explained the meaning of the word in different contexts. The word “culture” has always been very complicated and a number of definitions explaining the word according its origin or context have been created. “The complex of senses indicates a complex argument about the relations between general human development and a particular way of life, and between both and the works and practices of art and intelligence” (Williams, 2000, p. 91). Terry Eagleton argues that culture is a “matter of self-overcoming as much

as self-realization” and it is “kind of an ethical pedagogy which will fit us for political citizenship by liberating the ideal or collective self buried within each of us” (Eagleton, 2000, p. 5-6). The modern sense of the world then could be related to the word “civilization in the sense of a general process of intellectual, spiritual and material progress” (Eagleton, 2000, p.9).

Society is according to Eagleton made up, in turn, of distinctive cultures (Eagleton, 2000, p. 46), which we might label sub-cultures, or, increasingly, mixed cultural flows. All of these references, increasingly perceived as dynamic and not clearly bounded, make up a society. Williams offers a definition of society as “our most general term for the body of institutions and relationships within which a relatively large group of people live; and as our most abstract term for the condition in which such institutions and relationships are formed” (Williams, 2000, p. 291). Language, culture and society are intimately bound up in each other. To find solutions to social problems and to understand them with a modicum of clarity requires consideration of the interaction of these three issues. However, they are extremely complex issues which, for reasons of space, this thesis is unable to expand upon. Their implication in each other, will, nevertheless, be taken for granted.

3.1 Integration

As can be seen, culture, as well as society, are very difficult terms. It is possible to talk about a group of people, interacting between each other, following similar patterns and typically using the same or similar language as the communication tool between them. When an individual enters a new society, he or she is commonly confronted with new cultural practices, and learning the language of the welcoming social group is usually the first step to one’s integration. Language is one of the basic and most important tools on the way to comprehension and socialization. Before one starts to learn and consequently dominate the language of origin of a specific society, one often uses some of the world’s most spoken languages to communicate with other people, particularly English. However, there can be a disadvantage in that communication is limited to those who also speak the language one has chosen to use as the language of communication. There is no doubt that

people who speak English or more foreign languages are in a more beneficial position in the process of integration.

In the case of the refugees and migrants who have been fleeing to the EU it is clear that they have been coming from very different societies, cultures and often have different backgrounds, despite the tendency to perceive them as an undifferentiated Muslim horde. Moreover, a lot of incoming people do not speak English. Based on Lazear, it is also easier to integrate smaller groups of individuals than larger groups. Due to the fact that most of the centers for migration in Europe emphasize the importance of language, they are trying to prevent potential conflicts and problems as well as help with the process of assimilation through various language courses. This can be seen in the report written by Margie McHugh and Julie Sugarman (2015) published by the Migration Policy Institute (MPI) which states that

the growing enrollment of pupils with migrant backgrounds—including newcomers and the children of immigrants and refugees—has brought unique opportunities and challenges for school systems in Europe and the United States. These include how to create school environments that welcome and support the aspirations of students from diverse cultural backgrounds, fill gaps in students' formal education, and help those without strong host-country language and literacy skills to acquire them.

As the article also suggests, the MPI's National Centre on Immigrant Integration organized in June 2015 a symposium in Brussels entitled "Improving Instruction and Support for Students with a Migrant Background and Language-Minority (LM) Pupils in the Secondary Grades: A Transatlantic Symposium on Improving Teacher and Administrator Capacities". This aimed to explore the imperative of improving educational outcomes for students from migrant and LM backgrounds (McHugh & Sugarman, 2015). As can be seen, there are organizations that have been constantly trying to help migrants with their integration, including through their education, and language is perceived as a key part of the process.

3.1.1 Role of the language in the process of integration

Conversation is naturally fluent and often more relaxed when the two parties can talk directly between themselves without any intermediary. Direct conversation may increase trust and confidence, which may lead to a better relationship between the two parties (Lazear, 1995, p.2). However, applying this fact to the current problematic of migrants is not that simple. The fact that there is a large flux of people coming from different cultures and backgrounds leads to cultural blocs forming in which people take into account only their own interests (Lazear, 1995, p.7).

Some societies, such as for example the Czech, are more closed in terms of accepting other cultures and nations. Some countries, such as Portugal, can, possibly due to their own historical experiences, work with a mixture of cultures reasonably well. In this matter, however, it is again language which is a fundamental concept that influences overall perceptions. Portugal and the Czech Republic are good examples of this case. As on one hand the Portuguese language is widely spoken and some ethnologists estimate that there are even 215 million Portuguese speakers in the world (Thompson, 2015), on the other hand, there are only around 11 million estimated Czech native speakers in the world. That is the reason why Portugal does not need to face this language issue so acutely, as most of the immigrants in Portugal are from Portuguese ex-colonies, countries where Portuguese is at least an official language, if not necessarily spoken by everybody. In the case of the Czech Republic, it is obvious that there are nationalities, mainly from the same Slavic group countries, that find it easier to learn Czech, but there is no pool of immigrants who arrive already speaking Czech. Moreover, the Czech Republic, unlike Portugal, is one of the youngest countries in the world and does not have any significant experience with immigration. Indeed, from the beginning the Czech territory has been trying to protect itself from larger and stronger nations that have been trying to usurp it for themselves. This is probably where the fundamental difference between these two countries starts.

3.2 Balanced Immigration

As Lazear later states

balanced immigration leads to a situation where all individuals are more likely to learn the majority language in order to communicate with one another.(...) Balanced immigration should be defined in terms of balance in the receiving country. At issue is that each minority is a small part of the total in the new country. This means that individuals from populous countries have lower probabilities of being admitted to the new country than those from smaller countries (Lazear, 1995, p.10-11).

This could be observed in the example of Israel. Israel decided to use Hebrew as its language and to set up programs to teach the great majority of immigrants this language. Since the immigrants came from many different countries and spoke different languages (e.g., German, Russian), Israel successfully managed to make its population use a language that had not been spoken by any large group of people for 2 000 years. However, a huge wave of Russian immigrants who entered Israel in the early 1990s reached a critical mass. This resulted in the situation where rather than becoming assimilated into Israeli culture, the new Russian Israelis continue to speak Russian and keep subscribing to Russian culture (Lazear, 1995, p.11,12).

3.2.1 Balanced immigration in the context of the refugee crisis

In terms of the current EU situation, based on the previous data presented, the people arriving in Europe are mainly from Syria, Afghanistan, Eritrea and Iraq. According to the data team of *The Economist* (2015), the population of Syria has decreased from around the 22 million inhabitants that it had before war to just 16.6 million. Among other countries, from which people have been coming to Europe, are mentioned Afghanistan, Eritrea and Iraq. According to the data presented by the web page *countrymeters.info*, the estimated number of inhabitants in Afghanistan was 33.4 million in May 2016, while more than 230 000 people left in 2015. Eritrea, in May 2016, was estimated to have more than 5.3 million inhabitants and the population of Iraq was estimated to be 37.4 million

(Countrymeters, 2016). Except for Eritrea, these countries have large populations. It is also important to be reminded that there are a lot of migrants who are stateless. Based on the previous data, it is possible that people coming from the above-mentioned countries, except Eritrea, could have greater problems with adaptation in the EU countries. It is also necessary to remember that although the European Union is, in number of inhabitants, with its almost 503 million inhabitants in 2015 (European Union, 2016), the world's third largest population after China and India, it cannot be perceived as one country as it is still composed of 28 member states that have their own governments and official languages that vary widely. In comparison with the USA, the amount of migrants is not in fact considered to be distributed among the EU area but rather among its member states.

The overall opinion on the acceptance of migrants is also influenced by the size and language influence of the welcoming country. Thus, if the EU was considered one country, and had one official and common language, it would probably be easier for immigrants coming to the EU to be admitted because the population of the countries of their origin would be inconsiderable in comparison to the hypothetically more united population of the EU. But as in the current situation, the European Union consists of 28 relatively small countries and each of them has their own official language, or even more than one language, only a few countries (such as for example the United Kingdom, Spain, France or Portugal) have their language influence spread around the world. There live on average around 18 million inhabitants in each of the member countries which, related to the previous part of the paragraph, suggests that for many countries it might become more difficult to accept the migrants coming from much more populous countries, and moreover from countries that have, as has been already mentioned, very different cultural and social backgrounds.

The language influence, as well as the history of colonization, could possibly be one of the arguments explaining why countries such as Portugal have more tendencies to accept migrants. It is apparent that there are other important aspects playing an indispensable role in this issue, such as the political and economic situation of each country. For instance, for Portugal, since it is a country that has been going through a financial crisis, receiving money for each relocated refugee would hypothetically be more beneficial than

for some other countries. Portugal also has potential in those parts of the country with lower density but relatively large agriculture opportunities, where immigrants could, possibly, find employment or establish their own farms – as discussed later. Finally, the question that arises is whether Portugal would be as receptive if the country was directly threatened by such a massive number of incoming people as, for example, Germany.

3.3 Ghettos

Another factor, playing a fundamental role in terms of the assimilation of immigrants, is their placement within the country. It is natural that individuals who create a part of a group composed of people who are similar have more significant problems with their assimilation to the surrounding society. It is obvious that immigrants who do not have sufficient knowledge of the receiving country can function better in their language of origin within their community and so they may not have much motivation to leave it in the interest of merging into the receiving country's society. As a consequence, so-called ghettos may arise. "Ghettos are an extreme form of concentration. Societies sometimes force their minority members to live in ghettos and prevent them from mingling with the rest of society" (Lazear, 1995, p.21). Although the minorities themselves usually choose to stay within their own group, even in ghettos, as being part of a specific group of people coming from one place increases the level of communication and "trade" among the members (Lazear, 1995, p.21), it sometimes happens that "Minority members prefer integration (...), which occurs when being segregated into ghettos significantly reduces the value of trade for minority members" (Lazear, 1995, p.23). At the same time "the solution that is always preferred by the majority is to keep minorities in ghettos. The fact that those who live inside ghettos may dislike the segregation more than those who live outside them creates an obvious source of social tension" (Lazear, 1995, p. 23).

Sometimes, unbalanced immigration leads to the fact the ghettos can create population distribution and other social problems. If immigration is slow and balanced across the recipient country, it is easier for immigrants to acquire the culture and habits of the new country, which results in a lesser formation of ghettos (Lazear, 1995, p.23). Knowing this fact, it would be understandable to distribute the incoming migrants as equally as

possible, smaller groups to various cities and towns around one country, which would then prevent the creation of ghettos. Moreover, in this specific case it is necessary not to forget that these people are escaping from countries with very different values and beliefs, and from countries where the activities of terrorist groups are not uncommon.

After the terrorist attacks in Paris and Brussels, attacks which have influenced not only the EU but also many other countries around the world, it is clear that it was exactly the existence of ghettos which contributed to the creation and execution of the terrorist attacks.

3.3.1 Ghettos in Portugal and Czech Republic

Portugal, as well as the Czech Republic, is a country that has ghettos, although they are probably not as large as they are, for example, in Belgium or France. Moreover, ghettos in these two countries are populated mainly by Roma, and in the case of Portugal, also by the people from the ex Portuguese colonies, thus by people that do not come from radical and strongly Muslim countries. Nonetheless, the number of ghettos is growing rapidly. In the Czech Republic, according to the newspaper *idnes*, the number of people living in ghettos reached 115 000 in 2015, which is twice as much in comparison with the year 2006. That is why the Czech government has prepared a new law, which should improve the situation, establishing the equal distribution of socially weaker people inside towns and not only on the outskirts. The law should come into effect from 2017 (L. H. ČTK, 2015).

Portugal has been currently dealing with a similar issue. In the 1960s there were around half a million people distributed into social neighborhoods, among whom seven in ten people had not completed compulsory school education (Fontes, 2011). After 1975 Africans started to arrive to Portugal in greater numbers and the boom of ghettos grew significantly. Nowadays, mainly people of African origin and Portuguese Roma live in Portuguese ghettos (Fontes, 2011). Because problems in ghettos are not rare and the creation of social neighborhoods has proven to be not a very successful strategy, city councils have started to invest a lot of money in the restoration and recuperation of social neighborhoods (Pincha, 2015). According to Vítor Rainho (2016), especially after the terrorist attacks that people witnessed in Brussels and Paris, it has become necessary to

counter the creation and growth of ghettos all over Europe, and avert the fortification of terrorists and jihadists in Europe.

3.4 Language Education

The importance of language has been discussed above in the context of migrants more generally. Aaron Ralby speaks clearly on the issue in an article on *The Social Innovation Blog* of the University of Cambridge, where he claims that

the issue of language is so fundamental to our lives that we often overlook it. I have witnessed several multi-million pound training contracts fail to be delivered on account of not addressing the language barrier. All the goodwill, financial backing, and technical expertise to deliver needed medical, economic, military, engineering, or navigational training may be present; but unless there is a shared language in which to impart that knowledge, little will be accomplished (Ralby, 2015).

For Ralby (2015), learning foreign languages is the key, as it was for Lazear (1995), to the integration of migrants in society and he suggests welcoming refugees as a part of larger communities instead of joining communities of other refugees or people of the same origin. Accepting them as a part of the community of the host country is, according to Ralby (2015), essential for successful immersion. The author also observes that 12 weeks of English training can, in the United Kingdom, vary from about £2,000 – £3,250.

It is necessary to take into account that a lot of immigrants already speak some or even a lot of English and it is also necessary to realize that the motivation of those who do not speak English to learn the fundamental language of communication in the world nowadays will be probably higher than the motivation to study Portuguese, or even worse, Czech. Moreover, it is probable that the UK has more certified professors of English as a foreign language than the Czech Republic has of Czech. It is not difficult to see that the money that English speaking countries will need to invest into refugees to make them speak English will be lower than other countries, because the fact that half of the incoming people speak English is not so relevant in those countries where English is not the official language and especially not in countries where a high proportion of local

people do not speak English fluently. As has been already mentioned, more individualized personal motivation also plays an essential role.

What Ralby suggests is to start training and educating people already in the refugee camps, for example through various non-government organizations. This would be definitely a useful way to arouse their interest and distract them from the stereotypical life among other refugees in the camps. He also mentions that these people who already have some language knowledge and are educated for example in the areas of medicine, engineering and IT, among other areas, would start learning the specific vocabulary necessary in their future jobs. The author believes that language training in the refugee camps would “provide respite from boredom and give hope” and would be a step forward to the smooth “transition to living in English-speaking countries”. As referred to above, the solution is not that clearly applicable for countries that do not have English as an official language, although there is no doubt that in many aspects this attitude would help in solving the problematic not only on the level of language, but also on the level of the processes of socialization, distraction and motivation to learn (Ralby, 2015).

4 Evaluating Newspapers

Over the next few pages the language issue as well as other refugee related topics will be discussed. Special focus will be given to the representation of the topic in broadsheet newspapers in the countries in question—the Czech Republic and Portugal. The representative Portuguese newspapers discussed are: *Público*, *Jornal de Notícias*, *Jornal de Negócios*, *Económico*, *Diário de Notícias*, *Observador*. The Czech newspapers discussed are: *Lidovky*, *idnes*, *České Noviny*, *Novinky*, *Hopodářské Noviny*, *Aktuálně*.

4.1 Czech Media

According to the Czech newspaper *Lidovky*, although in last year more than one million migrants have arrived in Europe, European representatives lack a vision that would bring resolution to the problem. Asylum laws are not, according to several specialists, constituted for such a massive wave of migrants and thus the fear of oversaturation of the justice system that exists is natural. Although quotas were agreed in September 2015, they do not work as they are supposed to. Moreover, they do not present any conceptual solution of the problem. According to David Kosař, Professor of Constitutional Law at the Faculty of Law in Brno, quoted by *Lidovky*, “quotas can be a logical step. However, from the legal point of view they also bring many problems, such as for example the practical execution of the relocation, the choice of the target countries or even whether it is possible to obligate people where to go and also what to do, in case they decide not to stay in the specific country” (Léko, 2016). Věra Honusková, professor of International Law at the Charles University, highlights the fact, that “Europe misses a clear vision about what does it expects from the migrants”, which is to say, whether countries aim to host them only for a specific period of time or whether there is the intention to integrate them and consequently turn them into a European citizens (Léko, 2016).

According to Czech specialists, there exists a direction in European law concerning “Temporary protection”, which they agree would possibly present at least a temporary solution to the crisis (Léko, 2016). European Commission defines “Temporary protection” as

an exceptional measure to provide displaced persons from non-EU countries and unable to return to their country of origin, with immediate and temporary protection. It applies in particular when there is a risk that the standard asylum system is struggling to cope with demand stemming from a mass influx that risks having a negative impact on the processing of claims (European Commission, 2015c).

This means that the protection would not be permanent but time-limited. The specialists believe that the Temporary protection would give to the EU more time to seek answers for important social and conceptual questions. However, the problem is that to apply it, it would have to be agreed by the European Council (Léko, 2016). This suggestion of the use of Temporary protection, presented by some of the Czech specialists, is linked to the matter of integration and thus also to language education. Because due to the lack of vision and clear plans, and also because of the fact that many Czechs would preferably welcome the temporary “solution”, the tendencies to assimilate refugees demonstrated by Czech citizens are most likely lower than they are in many other European countries. The Czech Republic, based on the newspaper articles and on observation of the public’s opinions and behaviors, has been showing a relatively low desire to assimilate migrants. Most of the Czech articles mention migrants in context with events in other countries, as the Czech Republic does not belong among countries with higher concentrations of refugees, or they are discussed in terms of the refugee and European crisis as a whole and its possible solutions.

Nonetheless, a very small amount of the articles presents integration and education as a possible solution. There are of course also exceptions, mainly among academics. These have started signing petitions against racism and xenophobia, which have been the feelings of the majority of Czechs. The Czech Republic, as well as the other member states of the Visegrad group (except Poland), has been struggling not only against the quotas decided by the European Union, but the public opinion about the reception of migrants in general, which has not been so far very warm. Research has proven that 61 % of Czechs are strongly against accepting refugees, less than one third of the country believes that the Czech Republic should accept them only temporarily, until they would

be able to return to their home countries, and only 3 % of the Czech population believes that the Czech Republic should accept refugees, integrate them and let them settle down (ČTK, 2016b). Based on these feelings and attitudes, that have been often very strong, university professors have launched a petition called “Scientists against fear and indifference” that aims to wake the Czech nation up. The petition appeals to the media to provide factual and true information, instead of constructing alarmist stories and spreading panic. The petition also focuses on politicians for them to take into consideration real facts while deciding about solutions and pushes them not to use the crisis to collect “cheap political coins”. Helena Illnerová, one of the professors who has signed the petition, has recalled the solidarity that was shown towards Czechs who emigrated from the country in 1968, after the Soviet occupation (ČTK, 2015).

4.1.1 Initiatives to help

In order to help refugees, according to the report of the Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic, the government has agreed, in May 2016, a plan called “New elites for Syria – scholarship program for Syrian refugees”. Based on this program the Czech Republic would provide a university scholarship for 20 Syrian students (Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic, 2016). This initiative has inspired several Czech universities. Some of them have thus decided to “forgive” the University and accommodation fees, which are normally charged to foreign students who decide to study in English. The first university, which has started to apply this new rule, was Charles University in Prague. There is only one condition that the refugee students need to accomplish, which is to pass entrance exams. According to the model of Charles University, many other Czech universities have become more open and willing to give a chance to excellent students from war affected countries and help with their studies (Zelenka, 2015). Some of the universities that do not have the capacity to “forgive” the tuition fees are trying to help refugees differently. For example through various courses (of the language, history, culture) or by consulting services that they offer for free. However, due to the lack of candidates a lot of universities are still in the phase of waiting for a larger amount of interested foreign students (Trachtová, 2015).

As visible, in the academic field the mood aiming to help refugee students might seem more proactive than in other spheres of the country. Nevertheless, in order to help refugees, a number of non-profit organizations have been created. One of them is an endowment fund called *Generation 21* (NF G21). This project, *NF G 21*, cooperating with the government and related institutions, but also with help of other citizens, aims to relocate people whose lives are endangered by war, and the relocation is being made directly from their homes. This project, which originally intended the relocation of 153 Iraqi people from Iraq and Lebanon (Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic, 2016) (ČTK, 2015), has proven so far very controversial. This has been primarily caused by the general public's "anti-refugee moods" but also important was the fact, that more than 40 people who had been already relocated to the Czech Republic later decided to either go back to their home country or, in particular, that 25 of them have illegally escaped to Germany. The information, that refugees refused the asylum has aroused a wave of resentment among Czechs and thus it has not contributed very positively to the current moods. By April of 2016 within this project there had been already almost 60 refugees moved into the Czech Republic, and 55 more are supposed to arrive at the end of May and June (Tým Nadačního fondu Generace 21, 2016). Whether the project is going to prove successful or not is not at the moment clear at all.

The Czech government has approved a National Integration Program (SIP) that started to be applied from the beginning of 2016. This program aims to help refugees with their integration into society. The areas the program focuses on are removing language barriers (400 hours of Czech language during 6 months), help with living, social and health security and entering the labor market (Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic, 2015). Another conception for the integration of foreigners that was agreed by the Government of the Czech Republic in January 2016 is called "Mutual respect". This concept aims, among other things, to prepare refugees for their future life in the Czech Republic by supporting a conflict-free cohabitation of Czech citizens with foreigners, preventing the negative social phenomena and finally ensuring protection of the rights and security of all inhabitants of the Czech Republic (The Government of the Czech Republic, 2016).

4.1.2 Problematic statements

The question is whether this concept is really going to help. Most of the actions taken so far by the Czech government and especially by the Czech president seemed to have the opposite effect on the Czechs. For example many European countries were surprised by a statement by the Czech president Miloš Zeman about the impossibility of Muslims' integration into Europe. This can be seen for example in an article in *The Guardian*, that says: "Czech president Miloš Zeman, known for his fiery anti-migrant rhetoric (...) has stated that 'Integrating Muslims into Europe is practically impossible (...) as integration is possible with cultures that are similar, and the similarities may vary', pointing out that the Vietnamese and Ukrainian communities had been able to integrate into Czech society" (Agence France-Presse, 2016). While Ukrainian culture could be still considered similar to the Czech one, Vietnamese culture cannot. And in 2015 Vietnamese were, with almost 60 000 people, the third most common nationality legally living in the Czech Republic. The Vietnamese community is one of the strongest foreign communities in the country, proving that, despite the fact that their culture is very different from the Czech one, cohabitation can be very successful (Czech Statistic Office, 2015; Kottasová, 2011). Thus, it is possible to state, Czechs are not against immigration generally, but for them the fundamental factor influencing their attitude is the cultural background of the country from where they are coming.

However, every statement made by country's representatives, especially by its leader, contributes significantly to the overall European opinion about the country. Some statements are more diplomatic and some others are quite problematic. Nevertheless, most of the actions and statements have contributed to the fact that the current reputation of the Czech Republic is not very positive in terms of helping refugees.

4.1.3 Communication and Language Barriers

Because the Czech Republic's official language is Czech and the majority of its inhabitants still do not speak English, the communication and language barriers between Czechs and refugees are quite obvious. The communication problems can become more significant in particular areas, especially in the health sphere. This is why, according to

the *idnes* news, the Czech Medical Chamber (ČLK) has published material on its web page, in 11 languages (English, Arabic, Chinese, French, Dari and Pashtu, Mongolian, Czech, Spanish, Ukrainian and Vietnamese) to simplify the communication between doctors and refugees. The objective of the material is on one hand to prevent conflict situations between health professionals and foreign patients but it should also help to alleviate worries about migrants by Czech medical workers, as the migrants' attitudes can be different from those they are used to. The document also aims to protect doctors because it has not been unusual that doctors and other health professionals have often faced not only various communication barriers and also situations where a total misunderstanding from the side of foreign patients often occurred. In the leaflets patients can for example study their rights and common medical procedures that are usual in the Czech Republic. Health personnel are also going to try to simplify the communication with refugees through the help of interpreters (Idnes & ČTK, 2016).

It is necessary to take into account the reality that refugees are arriving in Europe from different countries, they speak different languages and a number of them do not have a sufficient communicative level of English. Although European countries have been trying to provide language services and teach refugees the respective language from the specific country, finding interpreters speaking the “exotic” languages may be difficult and financially very demanding. Nevertheless, as mentioned previously, language is one of the fundamental keys to penetrate and blend with the societies, and without a common language people cannot function socially very well.

4.2 Portuguese Media

The Portuguese initiatives, in order to help refugees with their integration, seem to be greater and more motivated. Since the beginning of the migrant crisis, the majority of Portuguese have demonstrated solidarity and sympathies towards the acceptance of the refugees. A number of organizations helping refugees with their integration have been created. According to *Público*, the number of refugees accepted by Portugal since September 2015, within the relocation program of the EU, reached 132 by the beginning of the March 2016. For the new refugees there are houses, that have been prepared by

municipalities along with nonprofit and voluntary organizations and social solidarity institutions (Cordeiro & Rocha, 2016). The truth that Portugal shows a significant solidarity with refugees can be seen by the fact that, according to *Público*, there were, by September 2015, at least “100 institutions available to receive refugees” (P. S. Dias & Oliveira, 2015). These include schools, parishes, businesses and private social solidarity institutions. As in the Czech Republic, also in Portugal there exists a Support Platform for Refugees (PAR). The PAR is linked with the Portuguese government as well as with Portuguese Refugee Council (CPR). The institutions that receive refugees have (as in the Czech Republic) to fulfill a number of mandatory requirements, including the provision of housing, food and clothes. Their task is also to help refugees with the Portuguese language and help with their preparation for consequent easier insertion into the labor market. Also, supporting children’s education and providing health care are fundamental parts of the mission. Around 150 municipalities have actively joined to the initiative to help refugees who are coming to Portugal. Portugal should receive from the European funds around 70 million euros by 2020 to support migrants and refugees (P. S. Dias & Oliveira, 2015).

One of the first initiatives, focusing on the academic field, is a Global Platform for Syrian Students that was founded in November 2013 by former president of Portugal Jorge Sampaio. The platform is supported for example by the International Organization of Migration (IOM), the Council of Europe, the League of Arab states or the Institute of International Education (IIE). The objective of the Platform is to facilitate studies for those Syrian students who, because of the war, had to interrupt studies in their home countries. This program permits students to receive university education without having to pay the tuition fees. Dozens of Syrian students have already, through this program, started to study at several Portuguese universities. The University of Aveiro accepted in 2015 within this program three Syrian students. Jorge Sampaio then spoke on the debate “Refugees - challenges and solutions”, which was held at the University of Aveiro in November 2015. In the discussion he talked about the program but was also defending his attitudes. One of the participants in the discussion and supporters of the initiative was for example MEP Ana Gomes.

For the refugees who have already arrived and so are holders of the declaration of an international application, which permits their legal permanency in Portugal and gives them several rights (for example access to a National Health Care service), it is a priority to attend Portuguese language courses. As soon as they receive a temporary residence authorization they will get access to the Portuguese labor market (*Público e Lusa*, 2016). The Portuguese Minister of Education, Tiago Brandão Rodrigues, has also remembered the importance of education while quoting a phrase by Nelson Mandela: “Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world” and emphasized that “in Europe as in life there is no division into us and them. It is only about all of us” (*Lusa*, 2016). Judging from politicians’ actions and initiatives it is possible to observe they are willing to integrate refugees and are trying to create the same conditions for refugees as for other Portuguese inhabitants. As has been already referred to above, the refugee crisis in Portugal, especially during the period of parliamentary elections, did not serve as a populist tool for politicians to win more votes. In comparison with other European countries, the refugee crisis was not one of the most important campaign topics and in relation with elections it was not widely discussed.

4.2.1 Language Courses and Integration

As has been discussed previously, many of the refugees have been coming to Europe without any deeper knowledge about Europe itself, its rules and principles. This is why the priority of European countries is to get refugees familiar with the local language, social policies, culture and history. According to the Portuguese portal *educare* schools represent a key role in the process of integration of refugees within the system. This is a huge challenge for humanitarian organizations as well as for schools which mostly contribute to this procedure. According to the president of the Portuguese Refugee Council, Teresa Tito de Moraes Mendez, “it is high quality education that helps to develop the capacities of the refugees and thus it is the first step to a happy and productive life” (Lobo, 2016). According to her “it is important to bear in mind that these people have left behind everything that was familiar to them and have entered a completely new and unknown environment with different cultural, religious and social codes” (Lobo, 2016). Teresa Mendez also highlights that due to the fact that half of them

are children and young people, less than 18 years old, they have a huge desire to learn new things and gain new social capacities, which is also the biggest reward motivating professors to devote even more to these young potential students. However, Teresa Mendes admits that the motivations of the students can become “very different, due to the other culture and so it is necessary to give them enough time to adapt a new culture and show them that their culture is not being overlooked but respected and welcomed” (Lobo, 2016).

According to *Público*, in order to show asylum seekers that Europe has understanding and feels solidarity, a new project “More than just numbers” focusing on secondary and tertiary students was created. This project is run by the coordinator of the Support Platform for Refugees (PAR) whose intention was to alert people about the inhuman conditions which the refugees and mainly children had been surviving in. In the video, that was presented by Rui Marques are observable images of small Syrian children trying to reach the area of the EU. This emotional video, trying to capture the children living their individual life stories and observe them on their way to their dreams is supposed to help us to see the people as real human beings who each of them have their own life story. The video aims to appeal also to European authorities, in order to encourage them to give positive answers to these people (Lusa, 2016).

4.2.2 Role of Religion

The Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon D. Manuel Clemente talked to reporters in the Vatican highlighting that the migrant crisis is going to cause big changes in Europe. According to him “an influx of hundreds of thousands of people into Europe from other continents, cultures and civilizations will bring a significant change in the European way of life” (P. S. Dias, 2015). It is possible to believe that for Portuguese people, since Portugal is a Catholic country, almost 80 % of the population being Catholics, of whom around 50 % regularly go to church (Marujo, 2012), the opinions of the Churches, and religious associations and their representatives value more than they do for Czechs, who are, according to the *Lidovky* considered the “3rd most atheist country in the world after China and Japan” (Lidovky & ČTK, 2012). This could be, thus, one of the reasons why

Portuguese people feel more willing to help. From the religious point of view solidarity with an obligation to help others, especially when the others need help, is one of the building blocks of Christianity. Many people need to have a leader or someone who shows them direction. If their leader is someone who they believe is going to show them the correct way, they may not doubt and speculate too much about other ways and options. Since Portugal is a Catholic country and most of its representatives show that they are in accord with the Church as well, people do not feel confused about the justness of the case as much as if their spiritual leaders were saying one thing and their political ones something else. This lack of unity in terms of beliefs and opinions that is missing in the Czech Republic, could be one of the reasons why the revolt against the reception of refugees there is much stronger than in Portugal.

4.3 Comparison of the Czech and Portuguese News

This Portuguese general opinion plays an indispensable role in creating an attitude about other countries that either do or do not share the same opinion. A lot of articles published by Portuguese newspapers have been referring, since the beginning of the crisis, to the attitudes of other countries. Also Portuguese representatives have often criticized a lack of solidarity and humanity on the part of other countries, mainly the countries of the Visegrad group (V4) – Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic. A recent example is an article published by *Público* saying that V4 countries want to build a wall in Macedonia and Bulgaria because they do not trust that Greece can handle the situation with the migrants. According to this news, the central European countries want to create a “line of defense that effectively leaves out Greece, the entrance point for refugees and migrants searching for asylum and a better life in the European Union” (Barata, 2016a).

The Czech online newspaper *Lidovky* has published the same information saying that the Prime Minister of the Czech Republic, Bohuslav Sobotka, has stated, in the Chamber of Deputies, that Europe should create a “back-up border control system” if the protection of the outside Schengen area is not successfully strengthened. Sobotka also appealed for the creation of a common European border and coast guards and emphasized the importance of respecting the agreement on the Turkish side (ČTK, 2016c).

As is obvious, both newspapers, that are among the more serious sources of information in their respective countries, have chosen, although presenting the same information, a different way to present it to the public. In the *Público* the news seems to be very specific and uncompromising, stressing the name “line of defense”, and the fact that behind this line there are migrants and refugees seeking a better life in Europe. In the text published in *Lidovky* the information seems to be much less direct. Using the name “back-up border control system” and giving the information that this system would be useful if the outside Schengen borders are not strengthened by the EU, the news seems to be less clearly focused on the needs of refugees and more on the supposed needs of Europeans. And definitely, as visible from this example, it is not only the opinion of the representatives of each country. The circulation of ideas and opinions is fundamental in the creation of public opinion.

4.3.1 Portuguese News

Based on the above mentioned paragraphs it is possible to observe that the Portuguese news is richer in the amount of information they give to the public about refugees. The Portuguese news has been willing to show the tendencies of migrants’ integration, and consequently they have been publishing information about the success of their assimilation while also stressing their intense motivation. Overall, the Portuguese news has shown more enthusiasm about the refugees, stressing details about the amount of children or young students who have great potential and would possibly be beneficial for Portuguese society. Solidarity and humanity is at the forefront and criticism of the central and eastern European countries is, although often indirectly, visible.

4.3.2 Czech News

Czech newspapers have not published many articles about the topic. Often it was necessary to search in other than the chosen newspapers or on the official pages of responsible institutions. The reason why Czech news sources have not been publishing a lot of information about refugees could come from the fact that since the majority of Czechs do not feel very enthusiastic about accepting refugees, and since journalism is a

business, news outlets, rather than reporting on migrants' integration, prefer to write about other more factual and current news, and not risk provoking or alienating their readers.

5 Business

This chapter aims to focus on how refugees can affect the European economy and business environment. Various visions of how refugees and migrants could influence the future of Europe in this area are going to be discussed.

5.1 European Union

The European Union is an area in Europe consisting of 28 countries (member states), and is one of the biggest world trading powers. Investments in various areas (e.g. energy, transportation or research and development), while trying to seek environmentally friendly solutions, are significant economic objectives of the EU. Although the European economy was hit by the economic crisis, its world trade still represents around 20 % of global exports and imports while its citizens represent just 7 % of the world's population. Moreover, in 2014 the economy of the EU exceeded the USA's and Chinese economy in terms of the GDP, exports and imports, as well as Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) (viz. Fig. 4) (Bryan, 2015; European Union, 2015).

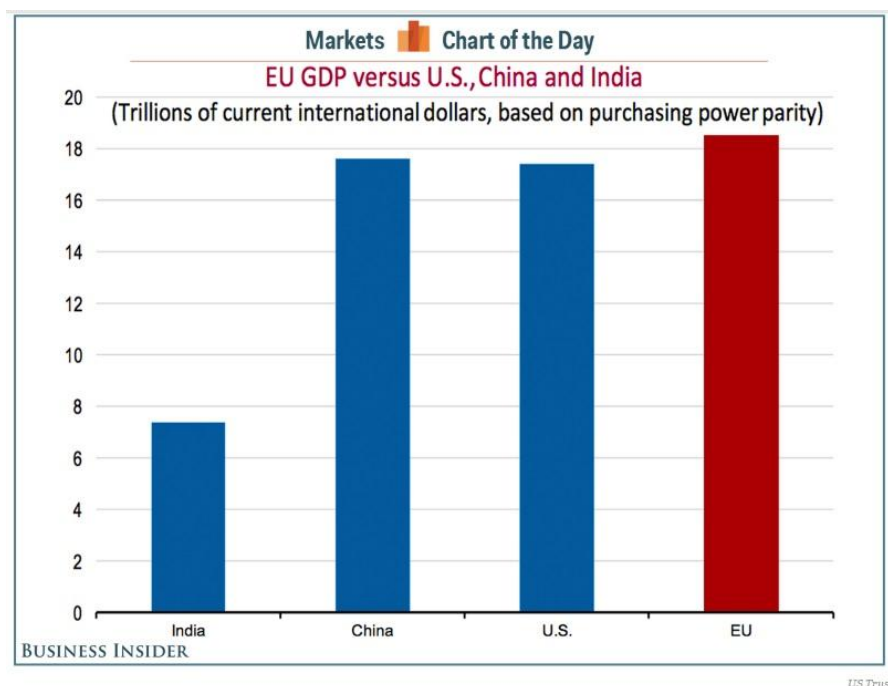


Figure 4: GDP of the EU, USA, China and India (Bryan, 2015)

The European Commission predicts that the EU will grow 1.8% in 2016, while economic growth is forecast to remain modest due to the deceleration of the main EU trading partners. However, with the high migration flows and tendencies of the gradual integration of the refugees into the labor market, it is expected that there will be an increase of the labor force in the next two years. In 2015 employment increased in most EU countries, including countries such as Greece, Spain and Portugal, where the high unemployment rates are set to continue. However, the decreasing tendencies are forecast to continue as well (European Commission, 2016d).

5.1.1 Economic Forecast for Portugal

The Portuguese economy has been slowly recovering from the economic crisis but the external debt remains very elevated. As visible from Table 5, the general government headline deficit reached 4.4% of GDP in 2015 and real GDP grew by 1.5%. The forecasts for the next year predict continuing on the path of a moderate recovery, especially due to the country's fiscal and macroeconomic imbalances (European Commission, 2016a, 2016d).

As visible in Table 4, Portuguese GDP has grown between 2014 and 2015 and is expected to slightly grow in the next two years. The Portuguese unemployment rate, that was 14.1% in 2014 has been moderately decreasing and is predicted to reach 10.7 % in 2017. The country's public debt is also expected to decline moderately by 2017.

Table 4: Economic forecast for Portugal (European Commission, 2016c)

Economic forecast for Portugal – Spring 2016				
	2014	2015	2016	2017
GDP growth (% , yoy)	0.9	1.5	1.5	1.7
Inflation (% , yoy)	-0.2	0.5	0.7	1.2
Unemployment (%)	14.1	12.6	11.6	10.7
Public budget balance (% of GDP)	-7.2	-4.4	-2.7	-2.3
Gross public debt (% of GDP)	130.2	129.0	126.0	124.5
Current account balance (% of GDP)	0.0	-0.1	0.3	0.5

5.1.2 Economic Forecast for the Czech Republic

The Czech Republic registered a sharp increase in economic growth in 2015, which was the result mainly of a large increase in public investment. As public investment is expected to decrease in 2016, economic growth is predicted to decrease as well, by 2.1% (viz. Table 5). The general government headline deficit is expected to stay below 1% of the GDP in the next year. The unemployment rate that registered 5.1 % in 2015, which was one of the lowest in the EU, is predicted to continue decreasing to 4.4 % in 2017. Czech public debt, which in 2015 reached 41.1 %, is expected to increase 0.2 % in 2016 but then decrease to 40.9 % in 2017 (European Commission, 2016b, 2016d).

Table 5: Economic forecast for the Czech Republic (European Commission, 2016b)

Economic forecast for The Czech Republic – Spring 2016				
	2014	2015	2016	2017
GDP growth (% , yoy)	2.0	4.2	2.1	2.6
Inflation (% , yoy)	0.4	0.3	0.5	1.4
Unemployment (%)	6.1	5.1	4.5	4.4
Public budget balance (% of GDP)	-1.9	-0.4	-0.7	-0.6
Gross public debt (% of GDP)	42.7	41.1	41.3	40.9
Current account balance (% of GDP)	-2.0	-2.0	-1.5	-1.3

5.2 Refugee Influence on the EU Economy

As the European Parliament points out, “the current refugee influx represents the largest population movement in Europe since World War II. Its size and complexity make it difficult to draw conclusions on the economic challenges and prospects valid for each Member State of the European Union” (European Parliament, 2015). As represented in Figure 1, the number of asylum applicants in the EU in 2015 sharply increased. Overall, the year 2015 registered almost 1.3 million asylum seekers in the EU (Eurostat, 2016). It is possible to presume that the number of asylum applicants will keep increasing in the next few years. Moreover, due to climatic changes there exists a possibility that Europe will also have to face other waves of ecological migrants. Focusing on the current situation, economists have been arguing about how refugees will influence the European economy. Foged and Peri, in a study carried out between the years 1991-2008 in

Denmark, show that after Denmark received mainly low-educated refugees going mainly for manual jobs, less skilled Danish workers responded to this influx by inclining towards more complex jobs and so become more distanced from manual jobs. Immigration in Denmark in these years also caused an increase in native low skilled wages (Foged & Peri, 2015). A lot of studies about the influence of immigration on receiving countries' economies have been made but it is not clear whether the results are applicable to the current situation, as most of them have not taken into account such a large influx of people at one time. This is why since this big surge in the migrant crisis in 2015 economists have been discussing and arguing about what impact this huge mass of people will really have on the European economy.

It is important to remember that the impact is not going to be visible immediately and a lot of it is only going to be visible long-term. According to the report published by the European parliament (2015) there will be three main aspects. The first one is the immediate help provided to refugees. This means supplying them with water, food and covering their basic needs. In the medium term, according to the report the destination countries will have to deal with higher costs consisting from the costs of difficult procedures of defining and deciding on accepting or refusing the applicants, by consequent either expulsion or in the opposite case necessary steps towards their social and economic integration (health and security services provision, education and job qualification) (European Parliament, 2015). The flow of migrants also brings certain risks in the area of tourism, which can be negatively influenced and finally can mirror the slowdown in global trade (European Commission, 2016e, p.80). According to the report published by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) the impact will depend mainly on the refugees' integration in the labor market. By 2020, the level of GDP in the European Union could increase by 0.25 %, while in the case of successful integration the gap between the natives and refugees would balance over time. In the case of a less positive scenario where the productivity of refugees would not reach the productivity of the native population, the refugees' contribution to GDP would decrease and consequently the GDP per capita would decrease by 0.4 % (Aiyar et al., 2016). In Figure 5 it is possible to observe the impact of refugees on the output level, GDP and unemployment rate of the European Union in a five-year term.

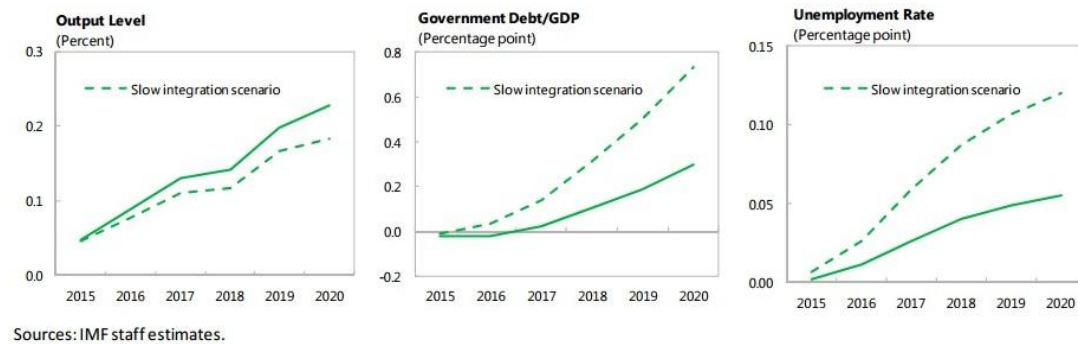
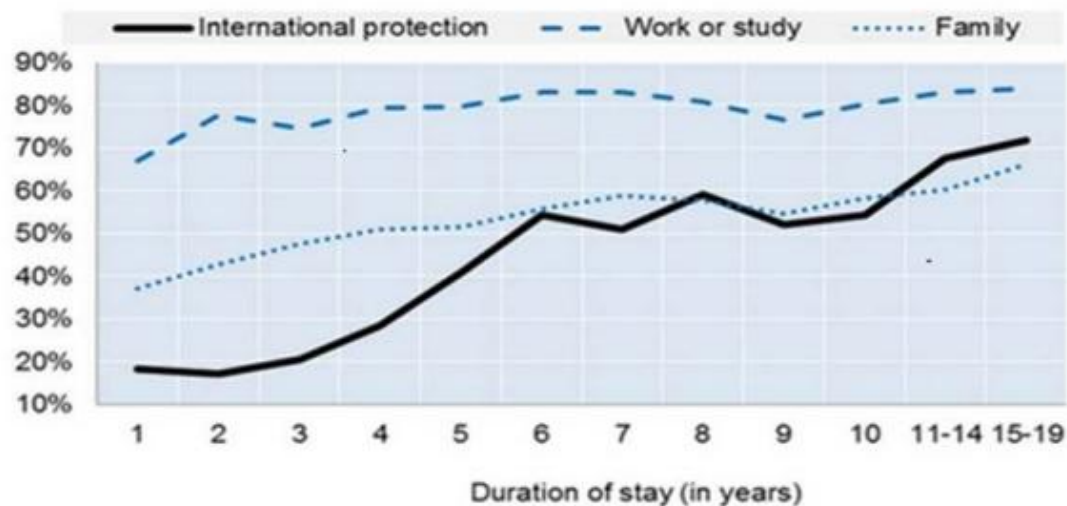


Figure 5: Impact of Refugee Inflows (Aiyar et al., 2016, p.14)

The real effects on the European economy will probably show only in the long term. Ayar et al. (2016) also mention that the key factor affecting the speed of assimilation of the refugees in the labor market is the condition of the labor market of the receiving country at the time of their entry. This is also why a lot of refugees have been heading to the EU countries with the highest economic performance and low levels of unemployment. This would explain why Portugal, for example is not among the countries that have been under refugee pressure. However, concerning the fact that the level of unemployment in the Czech Republic was in 2015 together with Germany the lowest of the EU countries (viz. table 6) and regarding the fact that refugees have not been heading to the Czech territory, it is possible to deduce that it is the general reputation of countries, in terms of quality of life or global profile, that is the most important deciding factor for migrants. As the European parliament report (2015) suggests, in the long term, the refugee impact on European economy might be positive.

A recent study, carried out by Regina Konle-Seidl (2016) for the European Parliament, has reported that the labor market integration of refugees is usually slower than the general integration of migrants. This is probably caused mainly by the fact they are forced to move out from their countries so the preparation to leave their country in order to enter and penetrate other markets is not a priority. According to the study made by the EU Labor Force Survey (2008), quoted by Regina Konle-Seidl, it took around 5-6 years on average to integrate 50 % of refugees into the EU labor market (Regina Konle-Seidl,

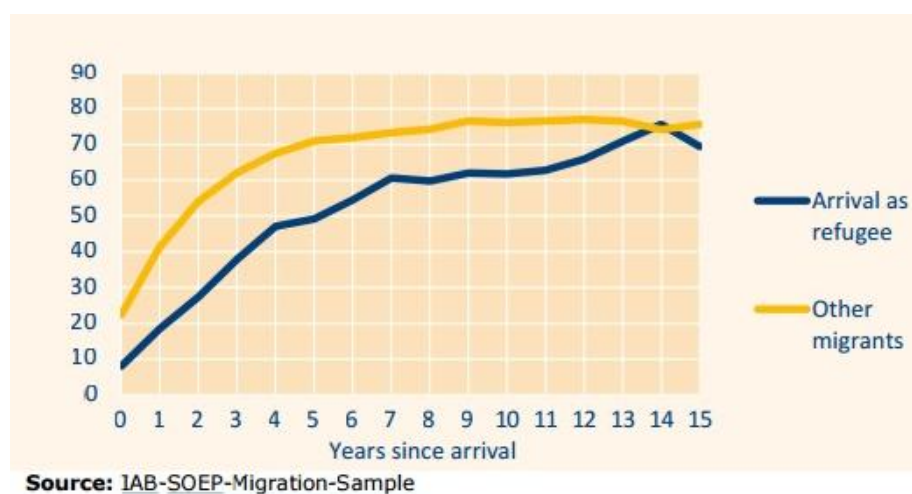
2016, p.22). Figure 6 evaluates the employment rate of immigrants, according to their category, over years.



Source: EU-LFS Ad Hoc Module 2008

Figure 6: Employment rate by immigrant category and duration of stay in EU countries (Regina Konle-Seidl, 2016, p.22)

As visible from this graph, people who arrived in the EU as refugees, seeking international protection, took longer to integrate than those who arrived already with the objective of studies or work, or those who came to the EU for family reasons. Similar results showed in a study made by a German Socio - Economic Panel, Regina Konle-Seidl indicates (2016) (viz. Fig. 7).



Source: IAB-SOEP-Migration-Sample

Figure 7: Employment rates of refugees and other migrants (in %) (Regina Konle-Seidl, 2016, p.23)

As visible from Figure 7, although integration into the labor market is for refugees slower, over a longer period their performance, in terms of employment rate, can surpass the performance of immigrants. According to the report, refugee women integrate less successfully, which has evoked a series of actions, recommended by the European Parliament, that aim to improve the reception of female refugees. As referred to previously, a key factor is also the situation of the country, its economic situation and the condition of the market in the time of entry. Finally, policy measures adopted by each country are crucial for successful and fast integration (Regina Konle-Seidl, 2016).

However, because Europe has been already flooded by such a large amount of people and the acceptance of at least part of them is inevitable, it is important to focus on a question – what can these refugees and migrants, coming to Europe, offer us and how can Europe turn this situation into a win-win situation? It is fundamental, to be more effective in finding solutions and in trying to effectively integrate the people, to organize and orientate the people who are asking for asylum. To start the process of integration and consequently link the people with their potential employers is to recognize the people as refugees. If the asylum seekers want to start working in the EU, they need to get refugee status or to be granted a subsidiary protection. Asylum seekers, whose asylum procedure is pending, have limited access to the labor market and cannot for example, receive any compensation (Refugees work, 2016). Those who have already been recognized as refugees have already started to integrate into various fields. After this process is achieved, they can start working and using other benefits. As Wolfgang Mueller, from the German Federal Employment Agency, said, it is fundamental to ensure that today's refugees will not become tomorrow's long-term unemployed (European Parliament, 2016).

5.3 Opportunities

In the case of refugees' successful integration into for example, specific niches or fast-growing fields, they can possibly contribute more in taxes than they receive in benefits. Moreover in the long run they can improve the prognosis of the aging European

population (European Parliament, 2015). As the report of the European Commission suggests:

In the next few decades, the proportion of elderly people in EU countries is set to rise fast, while the proportion of working-age people will fall significantly. Although enabling people to live longer is a major achievement, ageing populations also present significant challenges to European economies and welfare systems. The demographic transitions are viewed as one of the biggest challenges facing the EU (European Commission, 2015a).

Also Vítor Constâncio Vice-President of the European Central Bank, has already warned about the need for migrants to save the European population by saying that

Europe has been doing a sort of collective demographic suicide. To change the demographic trends, promoting birth is not enough. It also has to be done through immigration. If not, we're creating a great difficulty to growth and to the welfare of future generations (European Parliament, 2015, p.4).

These comments suggest that the European Union is facing one of the biggest existential challenges ever. The EU has already created a program that covers the EU 28 countries and Norway and which aims, in the long-term budgetary projection 2013-2060, to support a large number of areas such as health care, education and unemployment, in order to raise fertility and consequently conserve the European population which, if this ageing trend preserves, could face a serial existential problem. The current prognosis expects that the European population in 2060 will be slightly larger, especially due to net migration, life expectancy and fertility, but on the other hand also much older than it is nowadays. For half of the member states (including Portugal or Germany) a population decrease by 2060 is projected, while for other member countries (including the Czech Republic or the UK) a population increase by the year 2060 is forecast. The countries whose population is supposed to increase more significantly by 2060 are Luxembourg, Belgium, Sweden, Cyprus or the UK. Among those countries where the sharpest decrease is expected by 2060 belong, for example, Lithuania and Latvia but also Greece and Portugal (European Commission, 2015d). The demographic factor, thus, could possibly play a significant role in decisions on migration and refugees. As visible, some of the EU countries need an

influx of young people in their labor force, more than other countries. This could then be one of the reasons of their attitude towards refugee acceptance.

The Czech economic newspaper *Hospodářské noviny*, informed about a publication of the European commission about the ageing of the European population, stresses the fact that the Czech population is one of those where the number of inhabitants is going to increase by 2060, although the number of growing age-related expenses in the Czech Republic is going to be one of the highest in the EU (FRA ČTK, 2015). The newspaper *Lidovky* has also published an article in which the author discusses why Germany pressures the EU countries to accept refugees. According to this article, Germany needs refugees for the rejuvenation of its population. The idea of accepting refugees and their successful integration into the society is also supported by German businesses, that can see an opportunity of incoming young workers, because without well-managed migration the dynamics of German economics would decrease in the next few years due to the lesser number of economically-active population (Schuster, 2015). The fact that refugees could possibly bring a solution to the EU demography decline was also one of the topics frequently discussed (as referred to later) in Portuguese newspapers.

5.3.1 Opportunities for Portugal

Portugal belongs among countries with greater enthusiasm to accept refugees and although the European migrant crisis did not belong to the most discussed topics in the most recent pre-election campaigns, the newspaper *Público* published an article referring to a pre-election discussion between António Costa from the Partido Socialista (PS) and Catarina Martins, who is a leader of the left-wing Bloco de Esquerda. According to the article, both politicians have agreed on the fact that the European Union as well as Portugal should accept and relocate more refugees. The reasons why Portugal should accept and relocate refugees do not result only from Portuguese history, of cultural mixture, but also due to demography. According to Costa, refugees represent an opportunity for development among EU countries (Lourenço, 2015). The country's motivations for accepting refugees can be various. On one hand it could bring at least a partial resolution of the low fertility problem and consequently have an effect on decrease

of the average age of working population. In the country's geography it is also observable that the density of population is highly unequal (viz .Fig 8).

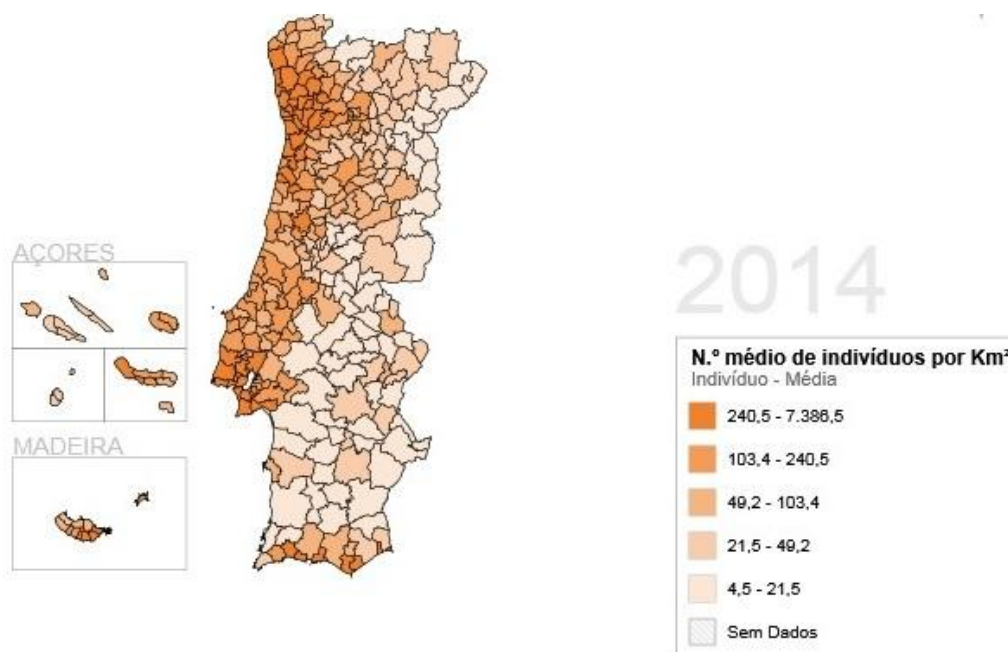


Figure 8: Density of population in Portugal (PORDATA, 2014)

Comparing the fact that the population of the Czech Republic is almost the same as the population of Portugal, the distribution of inhabitants is very unbalanced in the latter. From the map it is visible that the majority of population lives from Setúbal to the northern part of the coastline, which is mainly the industrial part of Portugal. Then there is higher density observable in the southern part of the region of the Algarve, which also experiences an expansion during seasonal tourism. As visible, the interior of the country, closer to the border with Spain, is significantly less populated. Also the southern region of the Alentejo, known as the region of agriculture, is sparsely populated. The Portuguese government has been struggling against the tendencies of people moving from the interior to the coastline, mainly due to work opportunities. The interior of the country is in many places almost unpopulated. Nowadays there are initiatives trying to attract people back to the interior.

The *Jornal de Negócios* published in 2012 an article dealing with this problematic. According to the article 66 % of the continental part of Portugal was populated with less

than 20 % of the total number of inhabitants. The reasons for people moving closer to the coastline were, as mentioned, occupational. Nevertheless, the municipalities in the interior, together with the Portuguese government, have started to develop solutions, in the form of various benefits that could lead people to stay. And some people really have stayed, but the attempts have not solved one important fact, that is related to one that has already been mentioned: the ageing of the population. This has, thus, resulted in the situation where young people move to the coastline and to the localities with higher job offers and the population that remained in the interior started to get older and older. For example a third of the population in Paredes de Coura, which is a town located in the region of Viana do Castelo, is more than 65 years old. And this is not an exception. Logically deduced, there are a lot of old people who often need not only special care, but also some hospital and rehabilitation centers or various cultural activities, so that there are needed people who could work in these services (*Negócios*, 2012).

The refugees who are supposed to be accepted by Portugal could represent a solution to this problem. If the people who are going to be relocated by Portugal have different qualifications in different areas, they could find employment in various fields where people are lacking and so they could bring a solution for two problems: the ageing of the Portuguese population, especially in the interior of the country, and they could help in the fields where young people are needed but the incentives offered by the state are not sufficient. If the construction of new centers and institutions in the interior of the country is needed, civil or other engineers can apply their knowledge. Other people, who are not qualified, could be helping with the implementation of the projects or could find their realization in other fields, such as agriculture. New people could also create their own farms, since there is lot of space and suitable areas and also the Portuguese climate could offer many agricultural possibilities in which migrants and refugees could start to do business. This would enable them to develop their own businesses, have their own responsibilities and use their, often good, negotiation capacities. At the same time it would benefit the country and possibly, in the case of increased production, Portugal could start to export its agricultural products even more, which could contribute considerably to the overall business and economic performance of the country.

A lot of sources also mention that there have been a lot of doctors among the refugees. Portugal is a country that is facing a lack of medical and health personal. In the interior of the country, as the population is older, the need for quality health assistance is logically high. This could be another area where the refugees could find employment. And in the case that the integration process and the increase of the concentration of population in problematic areas were successful, a development of other fields, such as cultural, sport, transportation and services, would be needed. This is of course conditioned by the successful integration of the refugees. People, especially in the interior, usually lack foreign language capacities and their communication with refugees and foreigners who are not fluent in Portuguese would be complicated. The successful linguistic integration and good preparation of the refugees for the future life in Portugal is thus the key to the future evolution of the country, not only in the terms of economic productivity but also from the demographic point of view.

Another article, published in February 2016 by the *Diário de Notícias*, deals with the above discussed idea of relocating the refugees who have already passed through the initial phase to less populated and agricultural regions such as Trás-os-Montes or Alentejo, where there is a lack of labor workers and there they could be doing seasonal work in the areas of agriculture or rural work. Over time the families would stay in these regions and work there not only seasonally but full time in areas where they would be needed. However, the priority remains the learning of the language and the absorption of Portuguese culture, even if the final objective is the use of their capacities in the areas where they would be needed (Luz, 2016).

Because the number of refugees accepted by Portugal is still low, in comparison with the numbers that the country is expecting to accept overall and because the situation is still in the initial process of integration, there have not been many things written about the working refugees yet. Most of the published articles have been focusing on the process of integration itself and have been supplying information about the people's intentions and successes in the process of integration. Although there are several organizations that have been responsible for local refugees, which have been guiding them through the process

and have been serving as a link between refugees and the companies, the process is still in an embryonic stage.

As visible, Portugal has taken a position where it is trying to reach a win-win situation. Combining solidarity towards refugees and turning this challenge into a situation that would benefit refugees as well as the country. And because Portugal belongs among the economically and demographically weaker member states, the refugees can mean a chance to fix at least some of its problems and help the overall performance of the country. The fact that for every accepted refugee countries will receive benefits (in the amount of 6 000 euros for each relocated refugee) from the EU budget is also relevant. According to the latest news published by Reuters, the European Commission suggested fining countries that refused refugees that were allocated by EU quotas. The countries, thus, would have the possibility to refuse refugees but only by paying 250 000 euros per person to another country which would accept them instead (Baczynska, 2016). This would represent a nice financial injection for Portugal, which is still recovering from the financial crisis and moreover would mean more motivation to strengthen their welcoming position. On the other hand, in the Czech Republic as well as in some other European Union countries, this idea has not been very successful. Representatives from the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland called it a violation of the member states' rights and the Hungarian minister of foreign affairs said it is a "blackmail on the part of the EU" (Baczynska, 2016).

5.3.2 Opportunities for the Czech Republic

Czech newspapers have not been very rich in the amount of information about what opportunities refugees could represent for businesses. According to several sources, most of the businesses have so far been looking for people to occupy usually lower positions and positions where companies were demanding only a minimum or no education at all. It is a general fact that a lot of countries, such as for example the UK or Germany, are up to a certain level dependent on migrants because they are able to do jobs that locals probably would not do for such a low wages.

However, the suggestion that migrants and refugees in the Czech Republic could definitely contribute to the solution of this issue has appeared. The *Czech Press Agency* (ČTK) published an article, based on research made by the broker agency Cyrrus in 2016. According to this research, the Czech Republic, through well-managed migration, would have the capacity to accept between 50 000 – 80 000 refugees (ČTK, 2016b). This is a number incomparably bigger than the 2 691 refugees that the country should accept by the end of 2017. According to the analysis in the short term, the Czech GDP could, thanks to the refugees, grow more than 730 million euros. But this all just in case that the country would prepare well for their acceptance and they would manage to carefully distribute them to the areas where they would be needed. The worries that immigrants would take the jobs of natives are according to the research misplaced. Immigrants usually do not take the jobs of locals but the opposite, because they can fill gaps in the labor market that the locals have been refusing. The research carried out in Denmark may be recalled here, in which the effects on the local workforce were more likely positive, because locals tended to gravitate towards more complex jobs. Moreover, according to the research, the country in the future would save 3.3 million euros in expenses related to the ageing of the population (ČTK, 2016b).

A number of companies admit that they are open to immediately accepting refugees. Since the Czech Republic is a country with a strong industrial base and tradition, most of the positions where migrants and refugees could find their use are in area of production, engineering or IT. This is also proved by research that was done by the Confederation of Industries of the Czech Republic. Its results show that Czech businesses prefer foreigners with technical education, who speak English and are able to undertake further requalification. Immigrants and refugees are also wanted for positions with a long-standing lack of workforce such as a majority of fields where skilled manual workers are needed. According to the president of Association of Small and Medium enterprises, companies usually have very good experiences with employing immigrants because they are reliable and are afraid of losing their jobs. A lot of companies also believe that employing educated immigrants, for example in the area of Mechanical or Electro engineering, could represent great opportunities for companies' activities in for example, Arab countries (Novinky, ČTK, 2015). Foreigners in general usually have an advantage

over locals, which is the knowledge of the language, culture and other rules of the country they come from. They can also easier orientate in their home market and evaluate better the potential that there could be for doing business with other countries. A lot of countries are difficult to penetrate without having a good knowledge about local habits and rules. Employing migrants and refugees could help several EU countries to help expand to the countries, where it would normally be more complicated. Employing educated people willing to and motivated to work would improve significantly the business performance of the Czech Republic, as well as Portugal or any other country, abroad.

Since a lot of Czech businesses realize what potential the migrant and refugee workforce could have for the Czech economy, the President of the Economic Chamber of the Czech Republic has suggested the creation of a fund to help immigrants. This fund would be financed by businesses and the state and would serve for education and requalification for professions where there is a lack of workforce. The money would serve only for the migrant who would get asylum in the Czech Republic. In the Czech Republic, in the long term there will be a lack of professions in areas such as, for example, welding, but also, in areas such as truck or bus drivers (Volf, 2015).

Another positive effect that the acceptance of refugees could have is related mainly to the cultural and language sphere. The influx of other cultures could help Czechs, as well as other relatively narrow-minded nations, to open their minds and become more culturally educated. Since Czechs generally do not dominate the English language, with the entrance of foreigners, locals would have to face their own foreign-language barriers more often. This is why the influx of foreigners would probably bring an opportunity to develop the language skills of Czechs. Also concerning other receiving countries whose population does not dominate either English or any of the world's languages, in the long term, if more people were able to speak English or indeed any foreign languages, the overall level of the countries' economic performance could hypothetically improve as second-generation migrants grow up fluent in more than one language, often pairings of languages which are unusual. Of course, there is no guarantee such people would find careers in business or international contact situations, but at least the potential is created as societies become more culturally and linguistically mixed.

5.4 Threats

As has been discussed in the previous chapters, refugees can mean a huge reinforcement for companies and countries' economies. In the long term the impact on the GDP is predicted to be positive and the overall performance of companies should improve. On the other hand, it is necessary to realize that a lot of studies that have served as the base for the calculations take into an account only the usual migration levels, and thus could not factor in the current level. Although refugees can boost the EU economy in general, there are still countries such as for example Greece or other Balkan countries that have been struggling against the economic crisis and since they have been serving as transit countries, their economies are more likely be impacted negatively. Especially in Greece, where the fundamental area for Greek economy is tourism, since it represents 20 % of its GDP, refugees have already negatively influenced the country's economy. According to some travel agencies, the interest in going to Greece for holidays has decreased 35 % this year (Amin, 2016).

Because there have not been published many statistics about the education of refugees and migrants it is difficult to classify where the refugees could use their qualifications. Some news has claimed that a number of them are engineers and doctors, while other sources mention that there are also people with just a basic or no education at all. To what extent the statements are true is difficult to judge only from the limited amount of information available. Among the first complications that occur in relation to this issue is diploma recognition. A Bologna process, which is a collective process implementing reforms in several areas, mainly in the area of higher education (European Higher Education Area, 2014), does not include either Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan or Eritrea's schools. Finding some common patterns, applicable by the EU countries, that would permit recognition of diplomas and people's qualifications will definitely not be easy and would bring more, at least bureaucratic, complications. According to the *Jornal de Notícias*, the process of academic recognition is very slow, due to the lack of bilateral protocols and all the recognition process needs to go through the embassies of the respective countries in question. According to the article, for refugees in Portugal it is fundamental to learn Portuguese. Many people hope that after learning the language, and

after passing through all the integration process, they could find a job in the same area as they had in their previous home countries (Campos, 2016).

The Czech news has been stressing that a number of the people who arrived through *Generace 21* have University degrees. Before they had been working as such things as the leaders of power plant maintenance, technicians, professors of arts, professors of Arabic, office workers or kindergarten teachers. According to the director of *Generace 21*, a number of companies or private entrepreneurs have already come up with job offers (ČTK, 2016a). The families that have already arrived are already counting on the fact that the process of recognition would take a long time and that although a number of them are educated, they will have to work manually, at least in the beginning (Šrajbová, 2015).

5.4.1 Corresponding job positions offer

The fact that some refugees could fill gaps in the fields where local people do not usually want to work could be beneficial for the countries' businesses. On the other hand, there is visible a sort of competition between member states to relocate "the better refugees", that is the educated ones, Christians or families with children. Expenses that the states need to invest in people who are already educated are obviously lower than investments in people who are not. However, there are still countries, especially those where the economic crisis still persists (although at lower levels), who are reticent. Labor market conditions in these countries are still not able to secure the locals well in many cases. Portugal could serve as an example. Due to the high unemployment level in the country even educated and qualified people have problems finding jobs corresponding to their qualifications. It is not an exception that a lot of university graduates have to accept positions that are inferior to those they feel they deserve. Thus, it is possible to see university graduates often working as for example shop assistants or in positions, where a university education would not be, in normal circumstances, necessary. However, in every country there are positions in which local people usually are not interested and refugees could easily fill these labor market gaps. Nevertheless, accepting migrants and refugees and having the possibility to mainly offer them just the low-profiled positions could be a temporary solution but for many people it is not a final solution. Thus, it would be possible to expect that after some

time some people, especially those with higher education, will feel the need of more corresponding professions and if countries are not able to provide them, this can result in more problems. For example, onward migration or pressure on the social security systems of the countries in question.

5.4.2 Impact on minimum salaries

Another problem may occur when refugees and migrants start to compete with locals. A lot of people have already demonstrated fear of this issue. According to a study made by Regina Kone-Seidl (2016), refugees are more likely to compete with previous immigrants or with locals who have similar training and skills. Based on a lot of research, such as for example that mentioned previously from Denmark, the likelihood of this happening is not very probable. However, according to Regina (2016) the fears in the member states with higher unemployment rates might be real (Regina Konle-Seidl, 2016, p.20). There is also a possibility that companies could start to rely on immigrants who are willing to do the same work as locals but for lower amounts of money. This would result in the situation where companies would not need to compete to attract new employees and they would not be motivated to offer extra benefits to their current ones, since they would know that in the job market there are people who are able to execute the same type of job for less money. In order to avoid the fear of migrant competition, the IMF has suggested that refugees, for some specific period of time (e.g. 6 months), could get an exception from the minimum wage. However, this tendency should be limited by time to avoid creation of labor market dualities (Aiyar et al., 2016, p.19).

5.4.3 Overloading the social system

The Czech media has also talked about some people thinking that refugees are coming to Europe, and especially to the rich countries, to live from the money of tax payers through receiving social benefits. According to the newspaper *idnes*, refugees are coming to Europe, mainly to Germany, with the vision of a generous social system. This is supposed to be what smugglers promise them. Germany, where the minimum salary now reaches 8.50 euros per hour, has already started to face a problem - that a lot of companies do not want to employ refugees for such an amount of money. Their work productivity,

according to some companies, often does not correspond to the money they are supposed to earn. According to the same source, many refugees are not literate. These have greater problems in finding jobs (Bělka, 2015). Also Regina Konle-Seidl (2016) mentions in her study that the fiscal contribution of refugees is not very favorable (in comparison with economic migrants), especially due to weaker labor market integration. According to the business newspaper *ihned*, in Germany several talks about social benefits have already been held. In the view of the German Minister of Finance, Wolfgang Schäuble, asylum seekers should have lower benefits than for example unemployed people who had been working for many years. In his words it is still too soon to try to see all the financial consequences of the crisis. German law determines that the asylum seekers who are waiting for asylum receive 143 euros per month. Once they get asylum, they have a right to receive between 287 - 359 euros per month (LEF, 2015).

5.4.4 Structural Changes in Demography

It is important to realize that the current problem is not only immigration. Emigration has also recently become a phenomenon. Some countries have been facing higher levels of emigration than others. One thing is emigration within the European Union which, due to the free movement of people and labor has become very easy and people from countries with lower quality of life and lack of well-paid jobs have started to seek opportunities in countries that offer a higher quality of life. This is recently also the example of Portugal. According to the news published by *Económico*, Portugal is the country of the EU with the 2nd highest emigration. According to this news, the percentage of the Portuguese population that has emigrated from Portugal is equivalent to 20 % of the population currently living in the country (Lusa, 2015). According to the information published by PORDATA, in 2001 the level of emigration per 1 000 inhabitants was 2 %. In 2014 it was 12.9 % (PORDATA, 2015). In Figure 9 it is possible to observe the balance of Portuguese population growth focusing on the difference between births and deaths and emigration and immigration.

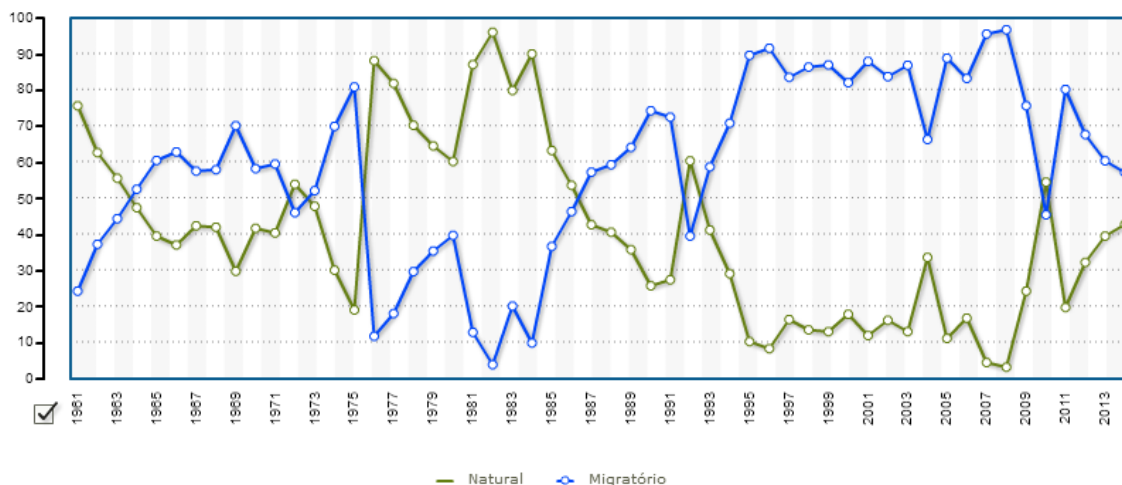


Figure 9: Natural and migratory balance in the annual population variation (INE, 2016)

It is visible that in the long term the Portuguese population has been growing mainly through immigration rather than naturally. If this tendency is going to continue it is possible that although the Portuguese population can be rejuvenated with the help of migrants and refugees, the ethnic composition of the country will change and in the long term it could bring significant changes in Portuguese culture.

5.4.5 Other Threats

The influx of refugees can bring negative impacts mainly in other spheres, than business and the economy. In the beginning there are various doubts about who the people coming to Europe are. Due to the lack of factual information and also due to the fact that the media do not have a lot of tangible information there is a large space for speculation. The threats that refugees might represent for Europe are several, of different natures.

One of more general issues, not directly related to business, but also widely discussed, is the fear that these new cultures entering Europe will not respect European social, cultural and moral principles. After the terrorist attack in Paris and Brussels the discussions about accepting refugees became even more controversial, since the fact that among such a huge amount of people that is difficult to be controlled there can be hidden people coming to Europe with other than asylum seeking purposes.

Also, in January 2016 newspapers from all countries informed about mass rapes that were supposed to have happened on New Year's Eve in several places in Germany. All this news has fueled a number of discussions and doubts about refugees' capacities to blend into European culture as well as massive speculations about their values, what is normal in Islam and what is not. This is also caused by the lack of knowledge of Europeans about other cultures and religions. Consequently, many discussions about the extent countries, businesses and other institutions have the right to be deciding about religious issues have been held. One example is that of the burqa or hijab at work or in public spaces. People are also afraid of losing some of their rights, such as freedom of religious expression, after the terror attack on French satiric magazine *Charlie Hebdo* for publishing caricatures of Muhammad. Since Europe has been, at least recently, a relatively liberal continent, with the influx of a mass of different cultures, people themselves but also countries' leaders have been floundering, confused about this issue, so far hopelessly trying to find a solution that would lead out of this confusion. According to the *Pew Research Center*, quoted by *Observador* (2016), the Muslim population of Europe is going to increase from 43.5 million people in 2010 to almost 71 million people in 2050. Since Islam is the fastest growing religion in the world and on the other hand, Christianity in Europe is in decline, by 2050 the difference between the number of Christians and Muslims is going to be smaller (Observador, 2016). Some people even talk about the so called "Islamization of Europe".

Reporting the migrant crisis: Where do languages & business fit in?

Lenka Novotná

6 Conclusion

Accepting refugees can, as suggested above, bring a lot of opportunities for European countries and boost not only the economies of the receiving countries but also resuscitate Europe from ageing. However, to make this happen it is necessary to settle the objective and the vision which countries have about it. Also the precise strategic planning as well as a very careful and well organized management of these people are fundamental to deal with the issue. Successful integration of migrants and refugees, consisting mainly in their language training and permitting them to blend into the society, giving them the feeling that there is no insuperable difference between them and local people, and also avoiding the creation of ghettos, are important factors that will contribute significantly to the final result. However, mainly due to the pressure under which the European Union has been for many months, the probability of making wrong decisions consequently increases. The previous chapters had the objective of evaluating the possible opportunities and threats that migrants could mean for the European economy and businesses but also to suggest how important the role of language and cultural background of the people on the process of their assimilation is. The sources of information for the evaluation of the Czech Republic and Portugal – two similar countries in terms of size and population but obviously differing in their attitudes towards migrant and refugee acceptance – were respected newspapers from both countries. Since the media is nowadays treated as a “fourth power”, next to the legislature, the executive and the judiciary powers, it both impacts upon and reflects public opinion.

6.1 General Comparison of Newspapers

Concerning the newspapers from both countries that were evaluated for this thesis it is necessary to remember that due to the topicality of this issue the amount of information that has already been written is huge and every day there are more and more articles and opinions published. The more reliable news that has been the fundamental source of information for the thesis usually provides general information about the current situation such as reports from different places and countries. Comparing the Czech and Portuguese newspapers, there are quite notable differences in terms of the amount of information on

this topic as well as in the way that the information is served to the public. Broadsheet newspapers usually more or less reflect opinions of the countries' representatives. During the reading and consequent evaluation of articles were visible the tendencies of newspapers to intervene ideologically via the choice of vocabulary and choice of images (viz. Appendices) or verbal expressions. As has been already mentioned, generally Portuguese newspapers have been richer in terms of the amount of information. Articles in Portuguese newspapers were usually longer and more vivid, often with an emotional subtext. In these articles it was more frequently possible to read about the initiatives to help refugees and solidarity. A lot of articles were also monitoring people on their (for now successful) paths to integration. Overall, the motivations and enthusiasm to receive refugees were on the part of Portuguese newspapers quite obvious. Czech newspapers, on the other hand, have proven more factual and brief in terms of the amount of information they provide. Their articles were less emotionally colorful and from the published information there was usually no significant enthusiasm towards refugee acceptance.

Alongside the articles themselves and their content it was possible to observe one other interesting feature, which was, as already mentioned, the choice of images. While most of the chosen newspapers chose images that were closely corresponding to the content of an article, in several cases it was possible to notice the ideological intentions of the use of particular images, particularly when the images were loosely corresponding with the overall moods in the country. As visible in the Appendices, where are presented examples of the newspaper images, in the Czech newspapers it was more likely to see images of young men and less misery. In the Portuguese newspapers, on the other hand, it was more likely to see pictures of refugees and their children on their difficult journeys.

6.1.1 Tabloids

Even though an analysis of tabloid newspapers was not part of this study, it is not irrelevant to mention them, since they are usually the most read newspapers in the majority of countries. In Portugal for example, the most read and sold newspaper is *Correio da Manhã*, with 103 079 copies sold per day (S. Dias, 2015). In the Czech Republic it is the newspaper *Blesk* with 244 287 copies sold per day in 2015. Just in

comparison, *Lidové noviny*, which is one of the newspapers evaluated in this paper, had on average, in 2015, 39 664 copies sold per day (Mediaguru, 2016). Judging from these numbers it is not difficult to guess that their influence on reflection of public opinion is possibly greater than the influence of more reliable newspapers. The fact that tabloids are more read than any other newspapers results from the information that they publish. People buy tabloids more often because they like reading what tabloids are writing. In other words, tabloids are sort of a reflection of the people. What the majority of people think, tabloids publish, and thus make people believe that they are on their side, sharing the same opinions. This is why, if tabloids from the Czech Republic and from Portugal were compared, the differences between Portugal and the Czech Republic would possibly become even more transparent, despite the fact that the same overall tendencies would be revealed.

The *Correio da Manhã* has been publishing a lot of articles with strident titles, often talking about horrible things that have been happening to refugees, stressing the bad conditions in which they have been situated. The newspaper often refers to powerful people who have proven to be in favor of their acceptance, such as for example the Pope. Moreover the newspaper has often been using a lot of much more emotional images than broadsheet papers, images that aim to evoke a lot of solidarity and sentimental feelings. On the other hand, the Czech newspaper *Blesk* has been publishing articles pointing principally to the negative side of migrants. It was possible to see a number of articles referring to accidents such as for example rapes or even murders, related to migrants. By showing how migrants are problematic and sometimes even brutal and often quoting people who have not been in favor of refugee acceptance, Czech tabloids reflected the negative public opinion about the topic.

6.1.2 Social pressure

The proof of how strong an influence the media can have is suggested by an interview with a voluntary worker from the border of Serbia and Croatia where, despite all the Czech negativity towards the issue, the biggest voluntary group operating was the Czech one. In the interview, for online newspaper *Aktuálně*, one of voluntary workers admitted

how surprised he was by what he saw there. He admitted that due to the information that had been transmitted in the Czech media his first opinion about accepting refugees was quite negative. Only there, according to his words, he did find out that the people coming to Europe are not so much “young men who are coming to kill us” but normal families trying to escape from a war (Šrajbová, 2015). The media naturally play an important role in the country’s image inside but also outside of the country. First, it is the government and the country’s leaders who are setting the patterns. In the case of Portugal it is a model of solidarity. In the case of the Czech Republic it is mainly a model of opposition.

The media, as the name suggests, have the role of intermediary between events and the population. As society works and behaves as a loose whole, for most people it is natural to flow together with it. If one would decide to go against society’s rules, the possibility of being marginalized would increase. The pressure of the public on behavior and opinion is enormous. Any demonstration of any “anti-refugee” stance would in Portuguese society meet sharp criticism. In the Czech Republic, on the other hand, what has been socially approved are often strongly nationalistic, anti-refugee tendencies and it has become common that people who have shown sympathies and solidarity towards accepting refugees have received verbal attacks from anti-refugee groups. This is also seen in the fact that the refugee defenders have come to be called “Sluníčkáři”, which is a pejorative expression whose negativity has been more visible with the current situation. In English the expression could be translated as one who only sees rainbows and butterflies.

6.2 Factors influencing the willingness of refugee acceptance

The current situation does not look very positive. Since a lot of European countries have different attitudes and have been discussing the situation for months, common ground is still a far-off dream. Member states have been throwing the problem between each other like a hot potato and the final solution of the migrant crisis is not in sight. The division of the Union between eastern and western countries is quite obvious and its, at least partial, explanation can be found in relatively recent history.

Eastern countries after the Second World War were for a long 40 years under communist control. This logically gave a completely different direction to social evolution than that which western countries went through. Countries of the communist bloc had been separated from the “rest of the world” and obviously for a long time people did not have a notion about what was happening in the rest of the world, or later, “behind the wall”. It is interesting that even nowadays, it seems like there was some imaginary line between Germany and the Czech Republic continuing to the north and south and dividing Europe in the middle. Going more and more to the east, the anti-refugee moods seem to increase. People from the post-communist countries are not very used to differences, and behind the term “differences” is meant differences of many kinds. For 40 years people from eastern European countries were used to meeting only their “neighbors” of the same kind. The only summer holiday of Czechs who wanted to see the sea was the coastline of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria or Romania.

After the communists fell in 1989, things started to gather momentum. Less than 3 years later Czechoslovakia separated and only 15 years after the fall of communism a lot of the post-communist countries, including the current V4, joined the European Union. After the Second World War and 40 years of having their identity suppressed and lacking the possibility to manage freely their own countries and only 15 years of freedom, the countries entered an already running project called the European Union. For many of these new entering countries it was difficult to accept the European Union with all its conditions and rules, a difficulty which has started to become more apparent more recently, with the appearance of the migrant crisis. These small differences that had been unimportant before have now started to become more visible.

Portugal, on the other hand, is one of the countries with the longest history of contact with other cultures in the world, and its experience with migration in general is much richer. Probably mainly due to the fact that the country is one of the oldest countries in Europe and its identity is stable, Portuguese people do not feel threatened by immigration as some younger countries, for example the Czech Republic. While the Portuguese are very nationalistic, migrating for them is more natural than for Czechs, who were usually forced to emigrate due to political instabilities. It may also be a question of a national “self-

confidence”. Since the history of Portugal is very long - it used to be a colonial power and almost all the world knows that Portugal exists - people do not need to worry so much about their identity. On the other hand, the Czech Republic is a young country and it happens sometimes that even European people still do not know it exists, which makes Czechs somewhat frustrated and less secure. The fact that often people from EU countries do not recognize their identity would, thus, explain why they feel so threatened by the entrance of other “bigger” and more populated cultures. The explanation of the current positions of the countries towards this issue is, thus, rooted in the core of each country and is influenced by many factors but it could be summed up by saying it is the reflection of national self-confidence and identity.

6.3 In summary

The study set out to observe and compare the attitudes of two European Union countries – the Czech Republic and Portugal – towards the current issue of the migrant crisis in terms of the consequences of the absorption of different cultures and their possible impact on the economies mainly of the respective countries in question. A fundamental part of the work was focused on representation of the issue in newspapers, since the media play a fundamental and indispensable role in the creation and reflection of public opinion creation.

While Portugal has been demonstrating more solidarity and enthusiasm about the acceptance of refugees, the Czech Republic has been much more skeptical about it. The investigation has shown that since public opinion about refugee acceptance varies a lot in both countries, the media have also not been always unbiased. By using different phrases and pictures they manipulate public opinion. While in the Czech Republic newspapers seemed to be pointing out more factual information and numbers, and often it was necessary to search for some time to find articles highlighting the positive effects of refugees, the Portuguese media have often been more emotionally driven and mostly referring to refugees as human beings with often moving stories, rarely referring to negative impacts they could have.

Another outcome of the investigation has shown that since language is the fundamental communication tool, it has a key role in the process of integration into a new society. This is why both countries have been primarily focusing on the intensive language training of refugees. Without language knowledge they could have significant problems with social integration, which could possibly result in the creation of larger separate groups, and would certainly have a negative impact on their professional success, as the process of market labor entry would be impeded. Consequently, it can be predicted that this would negatively impact countries' economies in various ways, from the social problems which ensue when groups are marginalized, to the failed opportunities for individuals and societies when people's skills and competencies are squandered. It is thus possible to conclude that the national language and its successful acquisition is the foundation stone for successful assimilation, on which the rest can be built. Language teaching should not be a lowly-paid sideline to the integration of migrants and refugees, but central to the social, cultural and economic integration of such people in European nations.

The research has also suggested that the possible positive and negative impacts of refugees on the countries' economies vary only a little. The biggest opportunity they represent for Portugal and for most of the other EU countries, in the case of their successful assimilation, is the rejuvenation of the population. Also the GDP of most EU countries could be positively influenced by migrants. The threats they could represent are also various for each country. The fear of losing identity is more relevant in the younger EU countries, whose national self-confidence is not, due to historical damage, as secure as the self-confidence of other, older countries with a long history. The threat that refugees would mean competition with local workforces and that they could decrease wages is also more relevant for countries that are still going through economic crises.

It is necessary to mention that the study aimed to focus only on reliable sources of information, such as broadsheet newspaper and official reports. The objective of the thesis was not to take into consideration other sources of information such as for example tabloids or social networks. Though overall influence on public opinion of these sources may appear to be greater than the influence of more reliable sources, since they reflect more nakedly the opinions of the majority, the suggestion was made that in general the

approach of these sources correlated with that of the more serious sources. Nevertheless, for future studies, I would recommend widening the focus to include the role of tabloids and social networks in the creation of opinion.

6.4 The EU need for a balance

Despite the fact that the substance of each country is different, the problem of the migrant crisis persists and it is up to the EU to solve it. Not only Europe, but also people themselves have been divided into two camps. Discussions about refugees have been noticeable in gyms, bars, social networks, work and schools. People have been desperate to seek solutions that so far, no one has been able to give. And it has been like this for months, since the beginning of the crisis. And it is not only a refugee and migrant crisis. As referred to above, it is a crisis of the European Union, and thus also a crisis of its citizens.

How can the European Union work as a whole, while people themselves cannot agree on a solution? Trying to find solutions beneficial for all its member states is difficult, because there is no simple solution to this complex problem. And before trying to solve the migrant and refugee crisis, there are other things that need to be clarified. As has been discussed, the member states need to make clear their own identity. The identity of the European Union has to be defined in a way that all countries could agree on. So far, it is observable that for many of the EU member states the key factor is that they are free to make decisions for their own countries and that the EU does not have a right to oblige them to do things they do not want to do. Due to this, a lot of countries have started to question the EU. Every country is looking for its own benefit and is seeking and developing solutions that would benefit mostly the country itself, while the original, ideal objective of the European Union was to work as a unit and cooperate. If the EU could be compared to a football team how would it look? Three or four countries playing only between themselves and when one would make a mistake the ball would end up in another group of states, that would either try to help the former ones, and despite the mistake they would try to help them shoot a goal or, they would use the mistake for their own good and score in the opponent's goal. Would the EU countries play all in one team,

or would they be playing in two teams in one field against each other? And who would win, the one with the best strategy or the one who has more money to afford better players and equipment? This is why the EU is missing balance and unity. Because the national interests of each country are overbalancing the collective ones. Finally, we are becoming the biggest threat to ourselves.

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Lenka Novotná

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8 Appendices



Figure 10: “How can refugees revive the economy?”, image of refugees represented in Portuguese newspaper (Borges, 2016)



Figure 11: “Integration of refugees in Portugal exceeded expectations”, image of refugees represented in Portuguese newspaper (Campos, 2016)



Figure 12: “Countries that do not want to receive refugees have as their plan B to close the borders”, image of refugees represented in Portuguese newspaper (Barata, 2016b)

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Figure 13: “The Czech Republic will earn up to 100 million [CZK] for refugees. The EU pays for the relocated ones”, image of refugees represented in Czech newspaper

(Hruška, 2015)



Figure 14: “Ageing Germany needs refugees, say social democrats and they receive applause.”, Image of refugees represented in Czech newspaper (Schuster, 2015)



Figure 15: “Scientists and academics, who are worried about the xenophobia in the Czech Republic, are launching a petition”, image of radicals demonstrating against refugee acceptance - Czech newspaper (ČTK, 2015b)